

SOME SOCIAL STATUS DIMENSIONS
OF SELECTED CHURCHES IN
A SOUTHERN METROPOLIS

A THESIS
SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF ATLANTA UNIVERSITY
IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR
THE DEGREE OF MASTER OF ARTS

BY
WILLIAM LINCOLN STANLEY, JR.

DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY

ATLANTA, GEORGIA

AUGUST 1952

R-vi R-13A

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

The writer is deeply grateful to the faculty members of the Department of Sociology, who, during the designing and writing of this thesis project, offered helpful and invaluable suggestions for its improvement. Special acknowledgement is made to Dr. Mozell C. Hill, Chairman of the Department of Sociology, who devoted unlimited time, cooperation, patience and valuable assistance in the formulation and writing of the thesis problem; and Dr. Albert N. Whiting, whose research in the area of religious behavior and guidance proved very beneficial.

Special indebtedness is also acknowledged to my aunt, Mrs. Charles W. Lowe, for her invaluable work in the typing of this thesis and the kindness shown during the period of writing.

Further acknowledgement is made to the ministers and members of the forty-three churches studied and the thirty-two informants who made this study possible.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

iii

Page

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT.....	ii
Chapter	
I. INTRODUCTION.....	1
Historical Background.....	1
The Problem.....	2
Methodological Procedure.....	5
Related Studies.....	12
II. SOCIOECONOMIC AND SOCIAL STATUS CHARACTERISTICS OF SELECTED NEGRO CHURCHES.....	17
General Pattern of Churches.....	17
Class I Churches.....	29
Class II Churches.....	31
Class III Churches.....	34
Class IV Churches.....	36
Class V Churches.....	38
Conclusion.....	40
III. THE EVALUATION OF THE SOCIAL STATUS OF SELECTED NEGRO CHURCHES.....	42
Explanation of Interview Procedures.....	42
The Atlanta Church Situation in General.....	45
Rating by "Symbolic Placement".....	47
Rating by "Status Reputation".....	50
Rating by "Simple Class Assignment".....	55
Rating by "Comparison".....	58
Conclusion.....	60
IV. SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS.....	63
APPENDIX.....	68
Appendix A. Tables.....	69
Appendix B. Maps.....	86
Appendix C. Interview Materials.....	93
Appendix D. The Schedule.....	128
BIBLIOGRAPHY.....	131

LIST OF TABLES

Table	Page
1. Membership of Churches by Number and by Percent of Total Church Membership.....	7
2. Distribution of Churches by Denomination and Area.....	8
3. Characteristics of Churches in Respect to Denomination and Membership, by Number and Percent.....	17
4. Churches by Denomination and Value of Church Building.....	19
4a. Churches by Denomination, Number and Percent of Total Valuation.....	19
5. Churches by Denomination and Selected Characteristics of the Minister.....	20
6. Churches According to Denomination and Academic Training of the Minister, by Percent.....	23
7. Churches by Denomination, Membership, and Pastors with College Degrees.....	24
8. Churches by Denomination, Membership, and Seating Capacity of Auditorium.....	25
9. Accessory Activities of Churches by Percent.....	26
10. Churches by Scale Score and Rank.....	28
11. Churches by Membership and Rank, by Number and Percent.....	29
12. Class I Churches by Denomination, Scale Score, Rank, Membership, Seating Capacity and Percent of Sample Membership.....	30
13. Class I Churches by Denomination, Number and Percent of Class	31
14. Class II Churches by Denomination, Scale Score, Rank, Membership, Seating Capacity and Percent of Sample Membership	33
15. Class II Churches by Denomination, Number and Percent of Class.....	34
16. Class III Churches by Denomination, Scale Score, Rank, Membership, Seating Capacity and Percent of Sample Membership.....	35
17. Class III Churches by Denomination, Number and Percent of Class.....	36
18. Class IV Churches by Denomination, Scale Score, Rank, Seating Capacity, Membership and Percent of Sample Membership.....	37

LIST OF TABLES

Table	Page
19. Class IV Churches by Denomination, Number and Percent of Class.....	38
20. Class V Churches by Denomination, Scale Score, Rank, Membership, Seating Capacity and Percent of Sample Membership.....	39
21. Class V Churches by Denomination, Number and Percent of Group.....	40
22. Frequency Distribution of Selected Churches Ranked as Upper-Class by Thirty-two Informants.....	43
23. Churches by Seating Capacity of Auditorium and Membership..	70
24. Class I Churches by Denomination and Selected Characteristics of the Minister.....	71
25. Class I Churches According to Size of Membership and Rank of Church.....	72
26. Accessory Activities of Class I Churches by Number and Percent of Frequency.....	73
27. Class I Churches by Membership and Minister's Salary.....	73
28. Class II Churches by Denomination and Selected Characteristics of Minister.....	74
29. Class II Churches According to Size of Membership and Rank of Church.....	75
30. Accessory Activities of Class II Churches by Number and Percent of Frequency.....	76
31. Class II Churches by Membership and Minister's Salary.....	76
32. Class III Churches by Denomination and Selected Characteristics of Minister.....	77
33. Class III Churches by Size of Membership and Rank of Church..	78
34. Accessory Activities of Class III Churches by Number and Percent of Frequency.....	78
35. Class III Churches by Membership and Minister's Salary.....	79

LIST OF TABLES

Table	Page
36. Class IV Churches by Denomination and Selected Characteristics of the Minister.....	80
37. Class IV Churches by Size of Membership and Rank of Church....	81
38. Accessory Activities of Class IV Churches by Number and Percent of Frequency.....	82
39. Class IV Churches by Membership and Minister's Salary.....	82
40. Class V Churches by Denomination and Selected Characteristics of the Minister.....	83
41. Class V Churches by Size of Membership and Rank of Church.....	84
42. Accessory Activities of Class V Churches by Number and Percent of Frequency.....	85
43. Class V Churches by Membership and Minister's Salary.....	85

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

In all societies, except possibly the most primitive, social differentiation over and above that based on age and sex may be found to exist. The members of societies may be classified and ranked on the basis of varying differences in occupation, in wealth, in education, in religion, in power and in other social and cultural attributes. "Historically, social differentiation, which is rooted in the dissimilarity in personal endowment, probably began with the development of division of labor and increase in wealth...."¹ Warner², Daniel³, Pope⁴, Drake⁵, et al, have found social differentiation and stratification in the total institutional activities of people; that is, some status behavior or differential conduct pervades all areas of life - economic, social, religious and recreational.

Because of the very nature of urban societies⁶, it is believed that

¹ Maurice Davie, Negroes in American Society (New York, 1949), p. 415.

² W. L. Warner and associates, Social Class in America (New York, 1949). Also see Warner and Paul S. Lunt, Social Life in a Modern Community (New Haven, 1941).

³ V. E. Daniel, "Ritual and Stratification in Chicago Negro Churches", American Sociological Review, (June, 1942).

⁴ Liston Pope, "Religion and the Class Structure", Annals, (March, 1948).

⁵ St. Clair Drake, Churches and Voluntary Associations in The Chicago Negro Community (Chicago, 1940)

⁶ Paul K. Hatt and Albert J. Reiss, Reader in Urban Sociology (Glencoe, Illinois, 1951), pp. 429-430.

social status, among individuals, tends to be very characteristic of them. It is further believed that urban societies furnish fruitful laboratory channels through which important studies can be made as to the status behavior of people. Several studies of small communities¹ show that the presence of social status patterns and the ranking of people into some hierarchial pattern is always present. Since the city or the larger community is the place where institutions, mobility and diversity among social groups are accentuated much more than is found in smaller and more homogeneous communities, it is believed that urban societies are fruitful laboratories for the study of status behavior. The term status as used here is taken from the works of Warner² and associates. Linton³ also makes frequent use of the term but differs to a degree in his conception from the way the term is used here.

Specifically this study is an attempt to examine status behavior patterns of people in an urban society as these patterns are reflected in church affiliation. Since it has been shown⁴ that people tend to arrange themselves into some hierarchial patterns in any society, it is around these patterns that the lives of people and their behavior are organized

¹

A. Davis, et al, Deep South (Chicago, 1941), John Dollard, Caste and Class in a Southern Town (Boston, 1937), W. L. Warner, et al, Democracy in Jonesville and James West, Plainville, U.S.A. (New York, 1948).

²

Warner defines social status as the position of an individual in the group in relation to other members of the social hierarchy, op. cit., p. 82.

³

See Ralph Linton, The Study of Man (New York, 1936), pp. 113-131. Linton makes a distinction between what he calls "achieved" and "ascribed" statuses. The former is referred to as those statuses open to the choice of the individual; the latter, those statuses assigned to the individual on the basis of some differentiating criteria.

⁴

The Social Life of a Modern Community, op. cit., p. 82.

and systematized.

In view of the above assumptions, that social status among individuals is characteristic of urban society and that these societies are fruitful laboratories for the study of behavior status, the primary interest of this thesis project is focused upon two problems: (1) the way in which status behavior is reflected by one's church affiliation and (2) how patterns of behavior are related to certain selective objective characteristics of the church. The study of churches per se is not the chief purpose of this study; but rather the focus is upon church affiliation and how this affiliation in churches is evaluated by others.

This study concerns itself with only one important aspect of the total configuration of status patterns that go to make up institutional behavior. Moreover, it is limited to the Negro population in an urban metropolis and relates itself only to the institutional behavior of churches therein.

Implicit within this problem are two basic hypotheses upon which the study rests:

It is hypothesized that one's evaluation of another's behavior in a given social institution, e.g., the church, the factory or the school can be employed as a means of understanding social behavior. It is further hypothesized that institutional affiliation is a productive concept for inquiring into the nature of status behavior.

Another hypothesis is that among urban Negroes, due to the complexity of institutional behavior in urban life, there is a tendency for them to participate in institutions conterminous with their social standings in the community.

In relation to these assumptions specific questions guide the study. These questions were designed to elucidate and shed light upon the problem of status behavior and church affiliation:

Is it possible through the use of arbitrarily selected indices to arrange churches, in the Atlanta Negro Community, into discriminating levels reflecting status patterns in the church affiliation of its members?

What differences and likenesses, if any, can be revealed between the levels of church affiliation and the status reputation of its members?

In ranking Negro churches along a scale of arbitrary values, what discriminating status forces, if any, exist between them?

Are the status scores assigned to Negro churches coterminous with the status reputation of its members?

There are a number of corollary questions related to these guiding questions that are implicit in the study but this thesis does not attempt to answer them. Such questions as the following may be asked: Does the status factor have any effect on people becoming members of the church? How important is the size of the church when related to the status factor? Do the kinds of activities and the church program determine the kinds of members? What effect does the training of the minister have on the church membership? Do Negro churches reflect status behavior in the same way as the dominant group? What churches carry the highest class membership - the ritualistic church or the emotional church? Is there any correlation between location and the qualitative and quantitative aspect of membership? Is the Negro more status conscious as he becomes organized and adjusted to urban life? Are Negroes more or less church goers? Does the kind of sermon delivered influence membership in Negro churches? These are a few of the many questions which could be asked in a study of this nature.

If the data revealed in this study suggest relationships between institutional affiliation, e. g., church affiliation and the status reputation of its members with reference to other forms of institutional behavior, then this study may contribute something to the general understanding and knowledge of institutional behavior. If not, it is hoped that the study presents some findings of interest to sociologists and may produce an incentive to further study in this area.

METHODOLOGY

To answer the questions guiding this study certain data were needed. First, an investigation was made to find out the type of data needed and their availability. The churches in this study were selected randomly from the total number of Atlanta Negro churches listed in the 1951-52 edition of the Atlanta City Directory. A spot map was constructed showing all the Negro churches (289) in Atlanta by denominations, in order to get an over-all picture of the data and its distribution. The distribution pattern of all Negro churches within the metropolis studied, revealed a heavy concentration of churches, especially the larger ones, near the center of the city but also a relatively wide distribution of the units as a whole. (See Appendix B) A relatively wide distribution as to denominational breakdown can also be observed on the map.

According to the Atlanta City Directory, Atlanta Negro churches were broken down into the following denominations: Baptist - 159, Methodist - 52, Catholic - 1, Presbyterian - 3, Episcopal - 1, Christian - 2, Lutheran - 1, Congregational - 2, and Holiness and/or Churches of God - 68.

In ascertaining the availability of the data, attention was focused upon sampling the data for study. The source list of the 289 churches

revealed in the 1951-52 edition of the Atlanta City Directory was set up for sampling. With the help of an advisor¹ the selection of cases for study was made at regular intervals increasing the chances of drawing a random sample². This procedure guarantees that a cross-section of the universe will be secured. The technique yielded forty-three cases available for study. Table I gives a general picture of the churches by membership and number and by percent.

The distribution of religious institutions, e. g., churches within the metropolis, is conditioned by certain factors not directly affecting other urban institutions³. Such factors would include religious faith, kind of church administration, the church program, source of support and the degree to which sentimentality and historical inertia are present. Notwithstanding these influences, certain regularities are observed in the ecological distribution of the churches in the southern metropolis studied.

A map showing the distribution of churches in the sample reveals the same tendency; (See Appendix B) that is, a heavy concentration of the churches near the center of the city. While it is true that many Negroes live within the radius of the concentration, the Negro population as a whole is continuously moving outward toward the periphery of the city into the residential areas⁴. Observation further reveals that these churches

¹Dr. Hylan Lewis, Professor of Sociology, Atlanta University.

²See Mildred B. Parten, Surveys, Polls & Samples (New York, 1950) pp. 219-244.

³See James A. Quinn, Human Ecology (New York, 1950), Chap. 21, pp. 471-489.

⁴These statements were made on the basis of personal observation of the invasion of Negroes into areas heretofore either too expensive or all white. Also see Up Ahead: A Regional Land Use Plan for Metropolitan Atlanta (Atlanta, 1952).

TABLE 1

MEMBERSHIP OF CHURCHES BY NUMBER AND BY PERCENT
OF TOTAL CHURCH MEMBERSHIP

Churches	Membership		Churches	Membership	
	Number	Per Cent		Number	Per Cent
Baptist			Lutheran		
Appalachee	20	.06	Saint Mark's		
Bethlehem	2000	6.12	Evangelical	40	.12
Calvary Grove	30	.09	Methodist AME		
Community	175	.54	Allen Temple	1760	5.38
Fair Hill	150	.45	Big Bethel	3000	9.18
Friendship	800	2.45	Cosmopolitan	1400	4.28
Grant's Temple	5	.02	Methodist AMEZ		
Greater Mt.			Shaw Temple	100	.31
Calvary	3200	9.78	Methodist CME		
Iconium	500	1.53	Saint John	56	.17
Mt. Nebo	600	1.84	Methodist ME		
Mt. Vernon	2750	8.41	South Atlanta	529	1.62
New Salem	62	.19	Centenary Memorial	105	.32
Providence	310	.95	Other*		
Silver Leaf	82	.25	Church of God in		
Springfield	600	1.84	Christ	200	.61
Little Friendship			Mt. Zion Holiness	10	.03
Missionary	500	1.53	St. Lily Fire		
Pleasant Hill			Baptized	35	.11
Missionary	275	.84	Mt. Zion United		
Rising Star	2000	6.12	Holiness	18	.06
Thankful	300	.92	Universal Church		
Walker's Tabernacle	150	.46	of God	15	.05
Wheat Street	5000	15.29	Solomon's Temple		
Zion Hill	2000	6.12	Fire Baptized	25	.08
Catholic			Refuge Church of		
Our Lady of			Christ	35	.11
Lourdes	470	1.44	Bethlehem Church		
Congregational			of God	1800	5.50
First Congrega-			Presbyterian		
tional	505	1.54	Rice Memorial	170	.52
Episcopal			Seven Day Adventist		
Saint Paul's *	396	1.21	Berean	470	1.44
			Totals	32,687	100.00

tend to locate on or near transportation lines. Since, however, only a small percentage of the church membership comes from the immediate environment such patterning or distribution of Atlanta Negro churches is not efficient from the point of view of ecological distance. The churches in this study, however, represented every area in the city of Atlanta. Table II shows this distribution of the sample churches.

TABLE 2

DISTRIBUTION OF CHURCHES BY DENOMINATION AND AREA

Denomination	Area				Total
	North East	North West	South East	South West	
Baptist	5	4	4	8	21
Seven Day Adventist	0	0	0	1	1
Catholic	1	0	0	0	1
Congregational	1	0	0	0	1
Episcopal	0	1	0	0	1
Lutheran	0	0	0	1	1
Presbyterian	0	0	0	1	1
Methodist AME	1	1	1	0	3
Methodist AMEZ	1	0	0	0	1
Methodist CME	0	0	1	0	1
Methodist ME	0	1	1	0	2
Other	0	3	3	2	8
Totals	9	10	10	13	42*

* One Baptist church in Decatur, Georgia is excluded in this distribution.

Kincheloe¹ points out that churches as a whole have not solved the problem of adaptation to the rapidly growing metropolis. Such adaptation, as

¹ See Samuel C. Kincheloe, The American City and its Church (New York, 1938), pp. 100-137.

he indicates, depends on the cultural-social characteristics of the church population and the mobility of this population in the course of city expansion.

The methodological procedure followed with the construction of a schedule (See Appendix D). This schedule was designed to secure data: (1) which were objective and quantifiable for purposes of comparison; (2) which were accountable to interpretation by the interviewee as well as the interviewer; (3) which could be confirmed for the purpose of checks by the interviewer; and (4) which could be compared from group to group. Considerable attention was given to the structure of the schedule; that is, its size, color and quality of paper and the arrangement of items. Attention was also given to the wording of the schedule to minimize bias and unnecessary inquisition. All answers to the questions on the schedule with one or two exceptions could be answered either by "yes" or "no" or a number.

To divest the mainsprings of social behavior as reflected in church affiliation an arbitrary scale of values was set up to arrange the churches into some sense-making pattern. This ranking scale was arbitrarily devised on the basis of an advisor's work¹ in the area of religious behavior and the research of Liston Pope². The items appearing on the schedule were selected as categories for ranking churches based on the researches of these men. Certain socioeconomic and church behavior factors were selected as

¹Dr. A. N. Whiting, Professor of Sociology, Atlanta University, has done a considerable amount of work in the area of religious behavior with particular emphasis on cult and sect behavior and helped the investigator design the scale for ranking churches.

²Liston Pope, Millhands and Preachers (New Haven, 1942), pp. 117-140.

criteria for assigning weights in scoring the forty-three churches studied in addition to the general information secured.

The focused interview as described by Merton and Kendall¹ was employed in this methodological procedure in order to test the consistency of the scaling of the churches and to ascertain the nature of the status behavior references, if any, that are made about people who affiliate with different churches.

The flexibility of the nonstructured interview, if properly used, helps bring out the affective and value-laden implications of the subjects' responses and to determine the personal significance of his various attitudes. Not only does it permit the subjects' definition of the interviewing situation to receive full and detailed expression; it should also elicit the personal and social context of beliefs and feelings. This type of interview achieves its purposes to the extent that the subjects' responses are spontaneous rather than forced, are highly specific and concrete rather than diffuse and general, are self revealing and personal rather than superficial.²

The main function of this interview technique was to focus attention upon the problem of this investigation and to talk to people who knew the churches under consideration and were willing to talk about them. No particular persons by name were sought but people in all walks of life - the doctor, the minister, the teacher, the clerk, the barber, the student,

¹R. K. Merton and P. L. Kendall, "The Focused Interview", American Journal of Sociology (1946), LI, pp. 541-557.

²See Marie Jahoda, Morton Deutsch and Stuart W. Cook, Research Methods in Social Relations (New York, 1951), p. 175.

the janitor, and so on, so as to get a cross section of the people as well as a representative sample.

The interviewer attempted to motivate people to evaluate other people's behavior differentially on the basis of their church affiliation. Such questions as the following were asked: What do you think of the church situation in Atlanta? What do you consider the "best" churches in the city? The "worst"? Where do the best people in town go to church? Do you know anything about these people? It should be stated here that such questions as those mentioned were not directly asked but were more or less implicit during the interview. Only when the informant stopped talking did the interviewer provide stimulus for further conversation. This nonstructured interview¹ was focused upon the subjective experiences of the informant as he, through his own affiliation, has ascribed behavior to others.

Specifically, an attempt was made to uncover the individual's status reputation in relation to his church affiliation. These interviews were focused and analyzed within the frame suggested by Warner² for getting at status behavior in relation to institutional affiliation.

The Order-of-Merit technique explained by Lundberg³ and others was also used in the interview procedure. In this type of procedure the informant is

¹
Ibid., p. 175.

²W. L. Warner and associates, op. cit., pp. 99-110.

³George A. Lundberg, Social Research, (rev. ed.; New York, 1941). Also see "Some Problems of Group Classification and Measurement", American Sociological Review (1940), V: 351-360 and "The Measurement of Socio-economic Status", American Sociological Review (1940), V: 29-39.

asked to arrange a list of items - pictures, names, words or other forms - in order of his preference. Such a technique is obviously limited in that no assumptions are made as to the size of the intervals between the items. For example, the differences between items ranked one, two, three or four may be greater than or less than items ranked five through ten. The number of items used can also be a limitation of this technique. The longer the list of items the more bored the informant becomes, as well as becoming careless in the arrangement.

In this study the items were placed on four by five cards with the name of the individual church and the minister's name on each card. The cards were then handed to the informant to be arranged in order of his preference. It is important to note that the cards were shuffled before each interview to avoid unnecessary questions and comments.

The sociological significance of this study can be shown by relating the problem to the general body of related literature.

RELATED STUDIES

Several studies have been made in the area of social status which reveal data and assumptions as to the whole question of the social structure of a community with particular reference to urbanism and religion.

H. Paul Douglas¹ has made numerous studies in the area of religion and has contributed a vast body of data to that field and the field of sociology. Excerpts from his studies are reprinted in numerous texts and readings:

¹See H. Paul Douglas, One Thousand City Churches (New York, 1926); The Church and a Changing City (New York, 1937); How to Study The City Church (New York, 1928); "Some Protestant Churches in Urban America", Information Service (Jan., 1950), pp. 1-8.

Roughly speaking, churches take on the characteristics of the major metropolitan pattern. There are downtown, residential neighborhoods and suburban churches.... The characteristic city church is small; its range of parish expansion does not generally take it out of the habitat of some particular type population. Nothing is left to it in most cases but to identify itself with the kind of people who are near it. It becomes an upper-class, middle-class or lower-class church because it has no strength to reach beyond its immediate vicinity.¹ It is thus a class church through weakness.

Pope² and Fauset³ are also nationally known for their work in this field of study. The researches of these men have revealed important findings especially in regard to sect and cult behavior which opened up new areas of study and clarified much of the misunderstandings usually found in the study of religious behavior.

The stratification of the community into social classes has profound repercussions, for example, in the religious life of the community churches show clear-cut class clearances.... In general, the upper-class Protestants are more likely to attend an Episcopal or Congregational Church. The Methodist, Presbyterian and Lutheran Churches in many communities have large middle-class memberships.⁴

¹Ibid., Information Service, pp. 1-8.

²Liston Pope, op. cit., pp. 84-91.

³Arthur H. Fauset, Black Gods of the Metropolis (1944).

⁴Liston Pope, op. cit.

W. Lloyd Warner¹ and associates are well known contributors to this field of study. In the Yankee City series they point out that the church is an all pervading set of social relations which tend to organize people into some kind of structural unity. The same kind of rankings or positions found in the economic structures of urban societies can also be found in the church. These authors analyze the institutional data collected to understand how voluntary associations, churches and other institutional societies function in the over all community:

Although in simpler societies the church includes the whole group, in the more complex societies it tends to segment into different groups with separate memberships. Even though the explicit and more general social functions of the church do not change the organizational functions do alter when one church is superseded by many.²

The basic assumption prevalent in these studies is that churches and similar institutions are arranged into some sense-making order according to the social status of their respective members as this status is evaluated by the people of the community.

Ira Reid³ accentuates the belief that social institutions are indices to social status and have a definite influence on social behavior. He emphasizes that social institutions, e. g., the family, the church and the state - represent all phases of the Negro's activity.

¹Warner and associates, op. cit.

²Warner and Lunt, op. cit., p. 33.

³Ira Reid, The Negro Community of Baltimore, A Social Survey (Baltimore, 1934).

West¹ found that churches tend to form somewhat of a local status pattern. While this pattern seems to vary according to the evaluation by various denominations, he found that emotional behavior and religious hysteria are highest in churches that rank lowest.

An indication that both church membership and social activity reflect status was the result of Powdermaker's study² in a southern town. Revealing data are found in this work.

Most of the upper-class are members of some congregation but their attendance and interest vary greatly. About half of them are Sunday School Superintendents, elders and deacons. The others rarely go to services and take no active part in church life.... The middle-class furnishes a large part of the church membership and almost all the ministers.... The middle-class as a whole are the ones given to violent expression of religious ecstasy at meetings and revivals.... Some of the lower-class attend church services; a few go only to revivals and social functions; but most of them plan to become regular members.³

V. E. Daniel⁴ presents somewhat of a different approach to the whole question of status. He concludes that the type of ritual engaged in reflects the life of the social order from which the individual comes. The function of churches, however, as he points out can be understood only when one realizes the nature of the social situation in which people of

¹James West, Plainville U.S.A. (New York, 1948).

²H. Powdermaker, After Freedom (New York, 1939).

³Ibid., pp. 234-235.

⁴V. E. Daniel, op. cit.

different social statuses find themselves.

The general belief that religious service in Negro churches is characterized by extreme emotionalism has been explained in the works of James Weldon Johnson.¹ Johnson points out that there are variations among different Negro denominations in the extent to which emotional behavior is manifested.

Emotionalism is uncommon in the upper and middle class Negro churches - which are quite like white churches of the same class level in this respect - and it is uncommon in the Catholic church and other large, well-established urban churches where there are more lower-class Negroes than middle and upper-class Negroes. There is a definite trend for Negro youth to avoid the emotional type church, and the same is true of the social climbers of all ages and occupations.²

In regard to social status and religion, St. Clair Drake's study of Bronzeville³ is very revealing. His findings indicate that there is a definite relation between religious affiliation and social status:

When a person in Bronzeville says he is 'sanctified' or that he attends a Spiritualist Church or one of the 'Cults', he is immediately marked down as 'low-status'.... If a man says he is an Episcopalian or a Congregationalist, Bronzeville thinks of him as 'dirty' or a 'strainer' or 'striver'. But if he says he's Baptist or Methodist or Catholic, he can't be placed until he tells which specific Congregation he belongs to.⁴

¹James Weldon Johnson, Black Manhattan (New York, 1930).

²Ibid., p. 165

³St. Clair Drake and Horace Cayton, Black Metropolis (New York, 1945).

⁴Ibid., p. 670.

CHAPTER II

SOCIO-ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL STATUS CHARACTERISTICS OF SELECTED NEGRO CHURCHES

This chapter reports the characteristics of churches revealed in the data obtained through the use of the schedule explained in Chapter One. Selected socio-economic and church behavior indices were arbitrarily chosen as schedule items, and as criteria for assigning weights in arranging the churches into a hierarchical pattern. The schedule administered also revealed general information pertinent to studying some of the social status dimensions of selected churches in a southern metropolis. The data revealed through this technique are shown in the following tables.

TABLE 3

CHARACTERISTICS OF CHURCHES IN RESPECT TO DENOMINATION AND MEMBERSHIP, BY NUMBER AND PERCENT

Denomination	Number	Membership	
		Number	Per Cent
Baptist	22	21,509	65.80
Methodist AME*	3	6,160	18.85
Other**	8	2,138	6.54
Methodist ME*	2	634	1.94
Catholic	1	509	1.56
Congregational	1	505	1.54
Seven Day Adventist	1	470	1.44
Episcopal	1	396	1.21
Presbyterian	1	170	.52
Methodist AMEZ*	1	100	.31
Methodist CME*	1	56	.17
Lutheran	1	40	.12
Totals	43	32,687	100.00

*For purposes of analysis the Methodist Churches were broken down into categories: African Methodist Episcopal, African Methodist Episcopal Zion, Colored Methodist Episcopal, and Methodist Episcopal.

**This denominational breakdown includes the Church of God, Church of Christ and Holiness Churches.

Table 3 presents the denominational breakdown of the churches in respect to the size of membership, by number and per cent. A superficial glance at this table reveals that every religious denomination in the Atlanta Negro community is represented. Further examination reveals that there is a heavy concentration in one denomination - Baptist - and the same tendency, to a lesser degree, in another denomination, listed as Other. This concentration is explained by the fact that the Baptist denomination represents over fifty per cent of the total number of churches in the Atlanta Negro community.¹ Obviously, this means a large representation in the churches studied if the regular interval procedure was used in sampling. It is revealing to note that three denominations, representing thirty-three of the churches or over seventy-five per cent of the total, account for slightly over ninety per cent of the membership of the churches studied. The remaining ten churches, less than twenty-five per cent of the total number of churches, account for only around ten per cent of the total church membership.

Table 4 and Table 4a give the sample churches by denominations, value of church building and per cent of total valuation. A casual glance at Table 4 indicates that the range of church building values is much smaller than the range of membership as shown in Table 3. Another point of interest is that of the 43 churches, only six representing a little less than fourteen per cent of the total, have church edifices valued over \$100,000. Moreover, this table also reveals that the denominations with the largest number of churches represented, on the average, have buildings valued below the figure just mentioned.

Table 5 shows the sample churches by denomination and selected charac-

¹ See Chapter One.

TABLE 4
CHURCHES BY DENOMINATION AND
VALUE OF CHURCH BUILDING

Denomination	Number of Churches	Value of Church Building (in actual dollars)
AME Methodist	3	\$350,000*
Congregational	1	250,000
Catholic	1	100,000
Seven Day Adventist	1	100,000
Baptist	22	90,227*
AMEZ Methodist	1	75,000
Episcopal	1	45,000
ME Methodist	2	45,000*
CME Methodist	1	25,000
Other (Holiness and Churches of God)	8	15,188*
Presbyterian	1	15,000
Lutheran	1	15,000
Totals	43	

*The number shown represents the average value of churches in cases of more than one church.

TABLE 4a
CHURCHES BY DENOMINATION, NUMBER AND PER CENT
OF TOTAL VALUATION

Denomination	Number of Churches	Per Cent of Total Valuation
AME Methodist	3	31.1
Congregational	1	22.2
Catholic	1	8.9
Seven Day Adventist	1	8.9
Baptist	22	8.1
AMEZ Methodist	1	6.7
Episcopal	1	4.0
ME Methodist	2	4.0
CME Methodist	1	2.2
Other	8	1.3
Presbyterian	1	1.3
Lutheran	1	1.3
Totals	43	100.0

TABLE 5

CHURCHES BY DENOMINATION, AND SELECTED CHARACTERISTICS
OF THE MINISTER

Denomination	Educational Training of Minister								Minister's Salary						No. Churches Pastored				Service Rendered to Church	
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	1	2	3	4	5	6	1	2	3	4	Full time	Half time
Baptist	3	1	5	1	4	2	1	5	4	5	2	5	6	0	0	1	9	12	9	13
Other	2	4	1			1			5	2	1					2	1	5	5	3
Methodist AME			1				1	1				1	2					3	3	0
Methodist ME				1			1			1	1							2	2	0
Catholic							1					1						1	1	0
Congregational								1						1				1	1	0
Seven Day Adventist					1						1							1	1	0
Episcopal								1				1						1	1	0
Presbyterian								1			1							1	1	0
Methodist AMEZ							1				1							1	1	0
Methodist CME		1								1								1	1	0
Lutheran							1			1							1		0	1
Totals	5	6	7	2	5	3	6	9	9	10	7	8	8	1	0	3	11	29	27	16

teristics of the minister. One readily sees a lot of complicated items when he first glances at this table but underlying all of this are a mass of revealing data. First, to better understand what is revealed in this table, some explanation must be given as to the code numbers used in each of the categories shown. The first code numbers, under category labeled "Educational Training of Minister", refers to the academic training of the minister in terms of actual educational levels. The code is set up as follows:

<u>Code</u>	<u>Interpretation</u>
1	No special training; elementary schooling
2	Some high school work; no special training
3	High school graduate; special training
4	Some college training
5	Some seminary training
6	College graduate
7	College and seminary graduate
8	Additional training

This category interpreted shows that only fifteen of the 43 ministers have college and seminary degrees; only nine have additional training beyond these degrees. In percentages it means only a little more than thirty per cent of the ministers have college and seminary degrees and only around twenty per cent have done work beyond this level. Of interest also is the fact that the range of educational training was from one to eight.

The second item on Table 5 representing "minister's salary" is explained in this manner:

<u>Code</u>	<u>Interpretation - Yearly Salary</u>
1	Below \$1,000
2	\$1,000 - \$1,999
3	\$2,000 - \$2,999
4	\$3,000 - \$3,999
5	\$4,000 - \$4,999
6	Over \$5,000

In regard to this item the table reveals that minister's salaries are

relatively widely distributed throughout the various coded categories. The range is from one extreme to the other, with some ministers making below one thousand dollars and one making over five thousand. The cluster is between one and four thousand dollars.

The last item or category needing explanation is under the heading "Number of Churches Pastored". Set up in a simple manner this code interpreted means:

<u>Code</u>	<u>Interpretation - No. of Churches pastored by Minister</u>
1	Over three
2	Three
3	Two
4	One

Of the forty-three ministers under consideration, twenty-nine of them or over sixty-five per cent pastored only one church.

Despit the fact that twenty-nine ministers pastored only one church, not all of them rendered full time service to the church as is indicated by the last category on this table. It is noticed, however, that over half of the ministers do render full time service to their churches.

Specifically, this table reveals that there tends to be a wider dispersion among one or two denominations in respect to all items shown. The Baptist, especially are widely dispersed in all categories whereas the other denominations tend to cluster heavily only in respect to items three and four.

The number of ministers in the sample churches with only college degrees is indicated in Table 6, which shows the churches according to denomination and academic training of minister by per cent. Over forty per cent of the ministers with only college degrees are represented by churches of Baptist denomination. The slightly less than sixty per cent remaining are scattered throughout nine other denominations, with only one denomination

showing more than one minister with a college degree. Important also is the fact that two denominations did not have ministers with a college degree. Eighteen ministers in the sample churches, or slightly more than forty per cent of the forty-three ministers represented, are college graduates.

TABLE 6

CHURCHES ACCORDING TO DENOMINATION AND ACADEMIC TRAINING
OF MINISTER BY PERCENT

Denomination	Number of Pastors With College Degrees	Percent of Pastors With College Degrees
Baptist	8	44.44
Methodist AME	2	11.11
Other	1	5.55
Methodist ME	1	5.55
Catholic	1	5.55
Congregational	1	5.55
Seven Day Adventist	0	0.00
Episcopal	1	5.55
Presbyterian	1	5.55
Methodist AMEZ	1	5.55
Methodist CME	0	0.00
Lutheran	1	5.55
Totals	18	99.95

A corollary table to the preceeding one is Table 7, which shows churches in the sample by denomination, number, size of membership and academic training of the minister. By inspection one notices the tendency that, as membership increases, the number of pastors with college degrees also increases. A more revealing picture, however, is seen when the data is broken down into denominations.

While the Baptist constitute over fifty per cent of the total number of churches in the sample and have a membership comprising over sixty per cent

of the total, there are only eight ministers in this denomination out of a possible twenty-two who have college degrees. This is only one college degree in every 2.7 churches of this denomination and only one minister with a college degree in every 2,651 members. The AME Methodist fare worst than the Baptist in this respect with only one minister with a college degree in every 3,080 members. It fares much better, however, by the number of churches, with two or three ministers in the denomination holding the college degree. The denomination listed as Other ranks third in size of membership but fares no better than other denominations (with the exception of the two churches whose ministers are not college graduates) as to the number of ministers with college degrees. Moreover, there is only one minister with a college degree in the 2,138 members representing this denomination.

TABLE 7

CHURCHES BY DENOMINATION, MEMBERSHIP, AND
PASTORS WITH COLLEGE DEGREES

Denomination	Number	Membership	Pastors With College Degrees
Baptist	22	21,209	8
Methodist AME	3	6,160	2
Other	8	2,138	1
Methodist ME	2	634	1
Catholic	1	509	1
Congregational	1	505	1
Seven Day Adventist	1	470	0
Episcopal	1	396	1
Presbyterian	1	170	1
Methodist AMEZ	1	100	1
Methodist CME	1	56	0
Lutheran	1	40	1
Totals	43	32,687	18

To further illuminate the general characteristics of churches in the sample, Table 8, showing churches by denomination and number according to membership and seating capacity of the auditorium, was constructed. This table reveals that, denominationally speaking, as membership increases the seating capacity tends to increase. Eight of the twelve denominations have seating capacities which excel their membership. Of the three highest ranking denominations by size of membership, however, only one had a seating capacity larger than its membership.

The general picture indicates that the total membership of the churches exceeds the seating capacity of the same. For every member in the total sample population there is only .65 of a chair or less than one chair per member. This is not true in all cases because some denominations have five seats for every member.

TABLE 8
CHURCHES BY DENOMINATION, MEMBERSHIP AND
SEATING CAPACITY OF AUDITORIUM

Denomination	Number	Membership	Seating Capacity
Baptist	22	21,509	12,175
Methodist AME	3	6,160	2,800
Other	8	2,138	3,795
Methodist ME	2	634	1,000
Catholic	1	509	200
Congregational	1	505	750
Seven Day Adventist	1	470	600
Episcopal	1	396	196
Presbyterian	1	170	350
Methodist AMEZ	1	100	500
Methodist CME	1	56	300
Lutheran	1	40	120
Totals	43	32,687	21,536

TABLE 9

ACCESSARY ACTIVITIES OF CHURCHES BY PERCENT

Number of Churches	Accessary Activities	Percent or Frequency
41	Sunday School	95.3
39	Official Literature	90.7
37	Graded Classes	86.0
28	Youth Organizations	65.1
15	Forums, Debates, etc.	34.9
8	Nusery School (Day)	18.6
11	Organized Recreation- al Program	25.6
23	Children's Sermon	53.4
6	Other Activities*	13.9

*Such activities would include Daily Vacation Bible School, annual Woman's Day Program, movies and similar programs.

In regard to the accessary activities of the churches in the sample, Table 9 presents a frequency of the number of churches engaged in these activities by per cent. A cursory glance reveals that no single activity had one hundred per cent frequency; that is, no single activity was found to be present in all the churches of the sample. The highest frequency is found in respect to Sunday School, with slightly over ninety-five per cent; the lowest frequency in activities other than those specifically named. All of the churches in the sample have at least one or more of the activities given; that is, each church in the sample engaged in at least one or more of the activities listed.

The three highest frequencies were the Sunday School, Official Literature and Graded Classes; the three lowest frequencies with other activities, Nusery School and an Organized Recreational Program, in that respective order.

By use of an arbitrary scale of values the churches were arranged into somewhat of a hierarchial pattern. Items A through J on the schedule were used as selected criteria for this ranking. The result of the use of these socioeconomic and church factor indices is summarized in Table 10, which represents the sample churches by denomination, individual church, scale score, rank and class.¹ This general table supports the question as to whether or not it is possible, through the use of arbitrarily selected indices, to arrange churches in the Atlanta Negro community into discriminatory levels reflecting status patterns in the church affiliation of its members. By denominations this table indicates that in most classes there is a dispersion. The exception to this tendency is, of course, the Baptist denomination, which is represented in each class. It is believed, however, that had there been an equal number of churches from each denomination in the sample, the distribution would have been relatively equal in respect to the various classes.

Question three (See Chapter One) is substantiated by the data shown in Table 10. The discriminating status forces which exist between the various churches are more explicit, however, when they are divided into classes. Subsequent tables and analysis will spell out these factors.

Table 11 shows the churches by classes and membership by per cent. A passing glance at this table reveals a general tendency in respect to class membership; that is, the higher the class of churches, the larger the membership. Churches in Classes I and II constitute well over seventy-five per cent of the total church membership as is indicated by this table. But

¹ On the basis of scale scores and for the purpose of analysis, the churches were arbitrarily divided into classes.

TABLE 10

CHURCHES BY SCALE SCORE AND RANK

Church	Scale Score	Rank or Position	Church	Scale Score	Rank or Position
Class I			Class III (Cont'd)		
Greater Mt. Calvary	47	1.5	Community	29	25.5
First Congregational	47	1.5	St. Mark's	28	27.5
Friendship	46	3	Walker's Tabernacle	28	27.5
Zion Hill	45	5	Bethlehem Church of God	27	29
St. Paul's	45	5	Class IV		
Big Bethel	45	5	Jones Avenue	26	30.5
Allen Temple	44	7.5	Silver Leaf	26	30.5
South Atlanta	44	7.5	Thankful	25	32
Wheat Street	42	9	Fair Hill	24	33
Class II			Rising Star	21	34
Providence	41	10.5	Refuge Church of God	19	35
Bethlehem	41	10.5	New Salem	18	36
Shaw Temple	40	12	Appalschee	17	37
Rice Memorial	39	13	Grant's Temple	16	38.5
Mt. Vernon	36	14.5	Solomon's Temple	16	38.5
Berean	36	14.5	Class V		
Iconium	35	16	Mt. Zion Holiness	15	40
Cosmopolitan	34	17.5	Mt. Zion Universal	14	41.5
Our Lady Of Lourdes	34	17.5	Calvary Grove	14	41.5
Pleasant Hill Miss.	33	19	Universal Church of God	13	43
Class III					
Little Friendship Miss.	32	20			
Centenary Memorial	31	22			
St. Lily Fire Baptized	31	22			
Springfield	31	22			
Mt. Nebo	30	24			
St. John	29	25.5			

TABLE 11

CHURCHES BY MEMBERSHIP AND RANK
BY NUMBER AND PERCENT

Rank	Membership	
	Number	Percent
Class I	17,190	52.58
Class II	8,484	25.95
Class III	4,061	12.43
Class IV	2,879	8.82
Class V	73	.22
Totals	32,687	100.00

interesting enough the two classes represent only forty-five per cent of the churches studied.

The following tables present a general picture of the churches studied by classes. Table 12 shows the characteristics of Class I churches in respect to denomination, scale score, rank, membership, by per cent and capacity. As to the scale score, the nine churches in Class I vary only slightly. The range is from forty-two, the score of the lowest ranking church in this class, to forty-seven, the score of the highest ranking church; this means there is only a difference of five points between the two extremes in this particular class.

The same trend for the general church picture holds true for Class I churches in respect to size of membership and seating capacity; that is, as the membership increases, seating capacity tends to decrease. Only two churches in this class have seating capacities larger than their membership and with one exception (St. Paul's Episcopal Church), these two churches have the lowest membership in this class. Even the church with the lowest membership (St. Paul's Episcopal) has a membership exceeding its seating

TABLE 12

CLASS I CHURCHES BY DENOMINATION, SCALE SCORE
RANK, MEMBERSHIP, SEATING CAPACITY AND PERCENT
OF SAMPLE MEMBERSHIP

Denomination	Church	Scale Score	Rank	Membership	Seating Capacity	Percent of Sample Membership
Baptist	Greater Mt. Calvary	47	1.5	3,200	1,000	9.78
Congregational	First Congregational	47	1.5	505	750	1.54
Baptist	Friendship	46	3	800	500	2.45
Baptist	Zion Hill	45	5	2,000	1,000	6.12
Episcopal	St. Paul's	45	5	396	196	1.21
Methodist AME	Big Bethel	45	5	3,000	1,600	9.18
Methodist AME	Allen Temple	44	7.5	1,760	700	5.38
Methodist ME	South Atlanta	44	7.5	529	750	1.62
Baptist	Wheat Street	42	9	5,000	2,000	15.29
	Totals			17,190	8,496	52.57

capacity. Constituting over fifty per cent of the total sample membership, churches in this class have a total of 17,190 members with a seating capacity of 8,496 or one seat for every two members.

TABLE 13
CLASS I CHURCHES BY DENOMINATION, NUMBER
AND PERCENT OF CLASS

Denomination	Number of Churches	Percent of Total (Class I)
Baptist	4	44.44
Methodist AME	2	22.22
Congregational	1	11.11
Episcopal	1	11.11
Methodist ME	1	11.11
Totals	9	99.99

In regard to the number of denominations represented in Class I, Table 13 presents the churches by denomination, number and per cent. With the exception of the Baptist denomination, which accounts for over forty per cent of the churches in this class, and the AME which accounts for slightly over twenty per cent, there is an equal distribution of the denominations represented. It is revealing to note that only five of the twelve denominations studied are represented in this class. Another point of interest is that, taken denominationally, the Baptist churches have a membership comprising over sixty per cent of the membership of Class I churches.

The range in scale scores for Class II churches is shown in Table 14, as well as other data on churches in this class. A closer look at this table in regard to scale score shows that the range of scores is from thirty-three

TABLE 14

CLASS II CHURCHES BY DENOMINATION, SCALE SCORE, RANK,
MEMBERSHIP, SEATING CAPACITY AND PERCENT
OF SAMPLE MEMBERSHIP

Denomination	Church	Scale Score	Rank	Membership	Seating Capacity	Percent of Sample Membership
Baptist	Providence	41	10.5	310	750	.95
Baptist	Bethlehem	41	10.5	2,000	500	6.12
Methodist AMEZ	Shaw Temple	40	12	100	500	.31
Presbyterian	Rice Memorial	39	13	170	350	.52
Baptist	Mt. Vernon	36	14.5	2,750	900	8.41
Seven Day Adventist	Berean	36	14.5	470	600	1.44
Baptist	Iconium	35	16	500	500	1.53
Methodist AME	Cosmopolitan	34	17.5	1,400	500	4.28
Catholic	Our Lady of Lourdes	34	17.5	509	200	1.56
Baptist	Pleasant Hill					
	Missionary	33	19	275	300	.84
	Totals			8,484	5,100	25.96

to forty-one, or eight points difference between the lowest and the highest score of churches in this particular class. The distribution of members by denomination is also revealing. The Baptist churches represented in this class have a sum total of 5,835 members constituting over sixty-five per cent of the membership of this class. Their seating capacity of 2,950 is more than fifty per cent of the total seating capacity. Fifty per cent of the churches in Class II do, however, have seating capacities larger than their membership. This is revealing when compared to Class I churches (See Table 12), who have only two churches in this category. It should be pointed out, however, that neither of these churches have memberships as high as five hundred members. This means that as the membership of Class II churches increases the seating capacity decreases. With a membership of 8,484 people and a seating capacity of 5,100, these churches, as a whole, have approximately 1.6 persons for every available seat.

A revealing picture is seen in Table 15 which shows Class II churches by denomination and number, by per cent. A one-sided picture can be seen by a quick glance. Fifty per cent of the churches included in this class are Baptist. The remaining fifty per cent are equally distributed between five other denominations. So far it is evident that the Baptist denomination exceeds all others as far as the number of churches is concerned.

The church picture by classes is changing somewhat as the various tables have indicated. Such changes, however, have been relatively small. Table 16 reveals more noticeable change in the churches by classes. Showing Class III churches by selected characteristics, this table indicates: first, that there is a scale score range from twenty-seven to thirty-two, the same as in Class I churches; secondly, it is noticed that only two of the ten

TABLE 15

CLASS II CHURCHES BY DENOMINATION, NUMBER
AND PERCENT OF CLASS

Denomination	Number of Churches	Percent of Total
Baptist	5	50.00
Presbyterian	1	10.00
Methodist AMEZ	1	10.00
Seven Day Adventist	1	10.00
Methodist AME	1	10.00
Catholic	1	10.00
Totals	10	100.00

churches in this class have memberships which exceed the seating capacity of their churches. This means that seventy per cent of the churches in this class have larger seating capacities than their membership. The suggestion here is that as the scale scores of the churches decreases there tends to be a decrease in membership in relation to seating capacity as well as a decrease in membership as a whole.

The membership of Class III churches totals 4,061 or about thirteen per cent of the total sample membership. The seating capacity of 5,220 representing twenty-four per cent of the total, indicates that this class, in comparison with Classes I and II, is the only one of the three which has a seating capacity which exceeds the church membership.

The consistent pattern of a concentration, of churches in one denomination seen in the prededing classes, is also found to be true in Class III as Table 17 indicates. The Baptist denomination represents fifty per cent of the churches in this class. With the exception of the Holiness Church and / or the Church of God (listed as "Other" on table), the denominations

TABLE 16

CLASS III CHURCHES BY DENOMINATION, SCALE SCORE, RANK,
MEMBERSHIP, SEATING CAPACITY AND
PERCENT OF SAMPLE MEMBERSHIP

Denomination	Church	Scale Score	Rank	Membership	Seating Capacity	Percent of Sample Membership
Baptist	Little Friendship					
	Missionary	32	20	500	500	1.53
Methodist ME	Centenary Memorial	31	22	105	250	.32
Other*	St. Lily Fire Baptized	31	22	35	200	.11
Baptist	Springfield	31	22	600	350	1.84
Baptist	Mt. Nebo	30	24	600	400	1.84
Methodist CME	St. John	29	25.5	56	300	.17
Baptist	Community	29	25.5	175	150	.54
Lutheran	St. Mark's	28	27.5	40	120	.12
Baptist	Walker's Tabernacle	28	27.5	150	350	.46
Other*	Bethlehem Church of God	27	29	1,800	2,600	5.50
	Totals			4,061	5,220	12.43

*Refers to Holiness Church of God, Church of Christ.

TABLE 17

CLASS III CHURCHES BY DENOMINATION, NUMBER
AND PERCENT OF CLASS

Denomination	Number of Churches	Percent of Class
Baptist	5	50.00
Other*	2	20.00
Methodist CME	1	10.00
Methodist ME	1	10.00
Lutheran	1	10.00
Totals	10	100.00

*Refers to Holiness, Church of God, Church of Christ.

are equally represented. It should also be noted here that only five of the twelve denominations are represented in this class; also that the Baptist is the only denomination with representation in all classes.

Despite the fact that only one church in Class IV has a membership which exceeds its seating capacity, the over-all picture is the same as the one revealed in Class I and II. Table 18 shows that the membership of the single church was so large that, when combined with the relatively smaller memberships, it exceeded the total seating capacity. Table 18 also reveals data as to the per cent of the total church membership this class represents. With an equal number of churches as the other classes, Class IV churches constitute only about nine per cent of the total sample church membership - 2,879 persons.

This table also shows that the lowest individual church membership is found among Class IV churches. The membership range is from five to two thousand members, with an average membership of 287.9 persons and an average seating capacity of 184 seats. A different picture would be re-

TABLE 18

CLASS IV CHURCHES BY DENOMINATION, SCALE SCORE, RANK,
SEATING CAPACITY, MEMBERSHIP AND
PERCENT OF SAMPLE MEMBERSHIP

Denomination	Church	Scale Score	Rank	Membership	Seating Capacity	Percent of Sample Membership
Other*	Jones Avenue	26	30.5	200	400	.61
Baptist	Silver Leaf	26	30.5	82	200	.25
Baptist	Thankful	25	32	300	750	.92
Baptist	Fair Hill	24	33	150	200	.45
Baptist	Rising Star	21	34	2,000	600	6.12
Other*	Refuge	19	35	35	250	.11
Baptist	New Salem	13	36	62	150	.19
Baptist	Appalachee	17	37	20	75	.06
Baptist	Grant's Temple	16	38.5	5	500	.02
Other*	Solomon's Temple	16	38.5	25	65	.08
Totals				2,879	1,840	9.01

*Refers to Holiness Church of God, Church of Christ.

vealed, however, had it not been for the high membership size of a single church.

TABLE 19
CLASS IV CHURCHES BY DENOMINATION, NUMBER
AND PERCENT OF CLASS

Denomination	Number of Churches	Percent of Group
Baptist	7	70.00
Other*	3	30.00
Totals	10	100.00

*Refers to Holiness Church of God, Church of Christ.

Table 19 reveals for the first time a class with less than five denominations showing representation. Only two denominations are represented in this class. This table also shows that the dominance of the Baptist denomination, in regard to the number of churches represented, has increased from a representation of approximately fifty per cent in all other classes to a seventy per cent representation in Class IV churches. It is further noticed that there is a larger representation by a denomination other than Baptist; that is, the largest single denomination representation other than Baptist was among Class I churches.

Table 20 indicates the churches in Class V by their denomination, scale score, rank, membership by per cent and seating capacity. In comparison with the other classes, Class V churches reveal a seating capacity in each individual church which exceeds memberships. A cursory glance reveals two noticeable characteristics of this class of churches: (1) that it has the lowest membership size of the five classes presented and (2) also

TABLE 20

CLASS V CHURCHES BY DENOMINATION, SCALE SCORE, RANK,
MEMBERSHIP, SEATING CAPACITY AND
PERCENT OF SAMPLE MEMBERSHIP

Denomination	Church	Scale Score	Rank	Membership	Seating Capacity	Percent of Sample Membership
Other*	Mt. Zion	15	40	10	100	.03
Other*	Mt. Zion United	14	41.5	18	150	.06
Baptist	Calvary Grove	14	41.5	30	200	.09
Other*	Universal	13	43	15	30	.05
	Totals			73	480	.23

*Refers to Holiness Church of God, Church of Christ.

the lowest seating capacity. Despite the fact that the Baptist denomination is in the minority, as to the church representation, it has the highest single membership of any other church in this denomination.

TABLE 21

CLASS V CHURCHES BY DENOMINATION, NUMBER
AND PERCENT OF GROUP

Denomination	Number of Churches	Percent of Group
Other*	3	75.00
Baptist	1	25.00
Totals	4	100.00

*Refers to Holiness Church of God, Church of Christ.

Class V churches by denomination, number and per cent of group, presented in Table 21, represent the only class in which the Baptist denomination is in the minority. Only one Baptist church is represented in this class over against three churches from major Class V denomination. The number of denominations represented is two.

The data revealed in the foregoing tables were presented in order that more revealing analysis could be made in respect to churches and their socioeconomic and status behavior characteristics. The reasons underlying this tabular presentation were to reveal the discriminating status forces, if any, operating to arrange the churches into a hierarchial pattern; and to ascertain the fruitfulness of assigning weights to certain socioeconomic and church behavior indices for the purpose of studying social status

* *Additional information on these churches by respective classes can be obtained from the tables which appear in Appendix A.

dimensions in Metropolitan Negro churches. The ranking of churches into some (local) community hierarchy, on the basis of the indices mentioned in the above statement is fruitful and advantageous in many respects: first, the procedure provides for objective measurement and recording; secondly, it enables a comparison of the findings with related studies.

It is apparent, on the basis of the data revealed, that the guiding questions and / or hypotheses¹ have been supported and substantiated by the data analyzed in this chapter. It is further shown that the arrangement of the churches into classes is a productive procedure for inquiring into status behavior as it is manifested in churches. Such a classification presents a more comprehensive view of churches in an urban society and enhances better understandings regarding the status-giving function of the urban church.

Perhaps a clearer picture of differential behavior between the churches, as they have been arranged and classified by the selected indices presented in this chapter, will be revealed through an analysis of the subjective interview materials. In Chapter Three an attempt will be made to probe behind these indices to uncover their social-psychological meanings in the interactional process. The hypotheses controlling the study will be rigorously subjected to the emotional feelings of people in terms of the way Negroes in the urban community come to evaluate the social behavior of others on the basis of their church affiliation.

¹ See Chapter One.

CHAPTER III

THE EVALUATION OF THE SOCIAL STATUS OF SELECTED NEGRO CHURCHES

The data reported in this Chapter are the result of the "focused interview" discussed in Chapter One. To reiterate, this interview was employed to: (1) test the consistency of ranking the churches along a scale of arbitrary values; and (2) to ascertain the status behavior references, if any, that individuals tend to make about people who affiliate with the various churches in the community. The main purpose of the interview was to get people to evaluate the status behavior of others on the basis of their church affiliation.

The data were obtained from a cross-section of informants who were approached in terms of their knowledge and evaluated feelings regarding the church situation in the Atlanta community. Not only was attention focused upon the subjective experiences of the informants but also an opportunity was provided for each informant to rank churches, through the manipulation of cards¹, on the basis of values within himself. The result of this "card-shuffling" is revealed in the frequency distribution in Table 22.

This table indicates how well known the churches were to the informants. The frequencies indicate the number of times each church was ranked as upper-class by the informants. It is revealed that over half of the informants ranked the selected churches² in the same category as the ranking scale

¹The name of the church and its minister appeared on a separate index card to facilitate shuffling. See Mildred Parten, op. cit., p. 188.

²The churches used in Table 22 were arbitrarily selected on the basis of the eight highest frequencies. Nine churches appear because the eighth and ninth churches respectively have the same frequencies.

TABLE 22

FREQUENCY DISTRIBUTION OF SELECTED CHURCHES RANKED
AS UPPER-CLASS BY THIRTY-TWO INFORMANTS

Church	Frequencies
Wheat Street Baptist	30
Friendship Baptist	29
Big Bethel AME	28
First Congregational	21
Zion Hill Baptist	21
St. Paul's Episcopal	19
Allen Temple AME	19
Greater Mt. Calvary Baptist	18
Providence Baptist	18

used in Chapter Two; that is, as Class I. Only one church - Providence Baptist - which appears in the upper-class category, was not ranked accordingly by the scale. Revealing also is the average number of informants who ranked these churches - 22.3 informants. In percentage terms this number represents over sixty-five per cent of the thirty-two participating informants. It should be pointed out that, in cases where the informant listed under ten churches, only the first five were categorized as upper-class or the better churches. When more than ten but less than twenty churches were listed, the first ten churches were used.

The primary purpose of this corollary technique, as was the focus of the interview itself, was to test the degree of confidence which could be placed in the ranking scale employed. From all indication, in regard to Class I churches, modification of the scale, if possible, would be necessary only in terms of the position of individual churches. On the basis of the highest frequency within the group, the upper-class churches according to the informants would be:

Rank	Church
1	Wheat Street Baptist
2	Friendship Baptist
3	Big Bethel AME Methodist
4.5	The First Congregational
4.5	Zion Hill Baptist
6.5	St. Paul's Episcopal
6.5	Allen Temple AME Methodist
8.5	Greater Mt. Calvary Baptist
8.5	Providence Baptist

After arranging the upper-class churches, as classified by the informants, into a high to low pattern, an attempt was made to follow the procedure throughout the classes listed by the value-scale. A close analysis revealed that the thirty-two informants were vague and ambiguous about churches other than those listed as Class I (See Appendix C). Only fourteen of the forty-three churches under consideration were mentioned more than fifteen times. Thus, it was not possible to make similar frequencies of the other churches nor was it possible to arrange them into any order except to put those churches listed beyond the upper-class in the lower-class bracket.

Despite the inconsistencies by informants as to the number of churches known, there was, however, a degree of consistency as to the churches below the upper-class group. The lower-class churches, according to the scale, tended to be grouped together and were relatively unknown in comparison with the other churches.

It is to be remembered that the guiding questions and / or hypotheses given in Chapter One control this study and that certain assumptions were made prior to the gathering of data. Nevertheless, the data revealed in this chapter, while not characteristically definitive, supports the questions asked. Particular support is given the question raised regarding the status scores assigned to the various churches as being coterminous with the status reputation of its members.

Important also is the fact that attention is focused on several of the corollary questions mentioned in Chapter One. The data support such questions as: (1) Does the status factor have any effect on people becoming church members? And (2) What churches have the highest class membership? These questions are explicit in the interview material presented here.

The analysis of the interview material is made in terms of four of the techniques for measuring social class used by Warner¹: (1) symbolic placement, (2) status reputation, (3) simple class assignments and (4) comparison.

THE ATLANTA CHURCH SITUATION IN GENERAL

An example of how informants generally referred to the church situation in Atlanta can be seen in the comments made by several people. Each informant made some statement in this respect².

Typical of these comments is the one made by informant E who lives in the northeast section of the city. This informant is approximately 35 years old, a female, visiting teacher of Baptist denomination. Her social class estimate is lower-middle class³. She made the following remarks:

Churches seem to have lost the religious touch, too much politics in them. You leave a service and you feel like you been to a ball park listening to somebody trying to win on some ticket. Others go to the other extreme. Talk so far ahead of people that they laugh at them.... Average Negroes don't go to church but white Protestants line up in cars; fill doors every Sunday. Negroes go to show off clothes; just not church goers.

¹W. L. Warner, op. cit., pp. 72-84.

²See Appendix C for all detailed interviews used in this study.

³The social class estimation of all informants is based on the interviewer's observation and knowledge of the situation.

A similar statement, but more profoundly made, is given by a middle-class person, informant F, a 40 year old male, of Episcopal denomination, who works as a postal clerk. He said this:

I don't think too much of them. One thing they over-emphasize finances. Atlanta churches are losing the youth. They don't fall for that stuff the minister is putting down.... Unless churches wake up they're going to lose the youth. They got to offer more than 'health and salvation, hell and damnation'. Some are attempting to meet the needs of the community... but the majority of them don't meet the needs.... You got to do more than attend to the spiritual needs of people.

Another estimated middle-class informant, a widowed member of the "old regime" and a member of the Congregational Church, made this comment in regard to the general church situation in Atlanta:

Well, churches nowadays are changing like everything else. Now I'm from the 'old regime' and I don't go for all that operatic singing and stuff. Churches are jazzing the music today. The people like it but I don't.

A lower middle-class informant, a 45 year old porter at one of the exclusive department stores downtown said:

Too many churches in the city of Atlanta, not too many but too many self appointed. Whereas I'd say the Baptist as a whole in city, if you'd count 'em you'd find a lot of 'em under separate government. There are several forms of sanctified, holiness churches in Atlanta. Can't say much about 'em, how they've formed but they just pull out.

Informant D, a 26 year old female teacher, who attends Ariel Bowen AME Church and who is estimated to be an upper lower-class person, remarked that:

I'm particular and peculiar about churches I attend. I like the ritualistic form. Some churches have long drawn out prayers, back

bending and knee bending - the smaller churches. Now I like the ritual in the big churches.... Now so far as music is concerned..., type of music we have destroys basic part of the church. That's why people stop going.

An AME minister, approximately 60 years old, who was given a lower middle social class estimation by the interviewer, had the following to say:

Atlanta is over-churched because of the ambition of people unprepared to set up leadership. For the most they go in remote areas among the ignorant, uninformed and set up a type of church not conducive to racial betterment. This condition is responsible for poverty both in faith and economics not existing in the Negro church.... The church in Atlanta suffers most from incompetent and designing leadership.... A survey of these churches with an inventory of the measurement of its leadership would involve a pitiful story of putrid exploration.

It is obvious that these informants have similar feelings as to the general picture of Atlanta Negro churches. Criticisms are made as to the total number of churches in the community as well as to the rituals and the church leaders. Frequent references were also made in respect to the length of the services.

RATING BY SYMBOLIC PLACEMENT

In rating by "symbolic placement"¹, an individual is placed in a particular social class or group because he is identified with certain symbols by the informants. Such symbols may have superior or inferior characteristics and / or meanings. These references are useful in ascertaining an

¹See W. L. Warner, A Black Civilization (New York, 1937), p. 10. Also see Social Class in America, op. cit., p. 72.

individuals social class and in establishing a polar construct of status in the community.

An example of "symbolic placement" is revealed in the following statements made by several informants:

.... Other denominations criticize this church but these 'holy rollers' can tell you almost anything about the Bible.

The informant making this statement, informant A, is the proprietor of a local snack shop, around 35 years old, of Baptist denomination and is estimated to be lower middle-class.

A young male informant, 25 years old, living in the northeast, who works as a mail carrier, made a revealing comment. This estimated lower middle-class informant said:

.... Now take the Congregational, people think only the 'rich' or 'high yellow' supposed to go there.¹

Informant C who lives in the northeast section of the city is estimated as being lower middle-class according to the interviewer. He is approximately 55 years old, of Episcopal denomination and the proprietor of a general store on Auburn Avenue. He made these symbolic references:

Bishop B., now he's a 'grafter', got rich off them 'dumb Niggers'; don't allow 'em to wear no rings, ties, nothing; (laughs) got rich off them 'Niggers'. J's all right (refers to minister at Mt. Vernon church), fine fellow but like the rest of them Baptist, he likes his liquor.²

When the informant said, "now he's a 'grafter' ", he reveals that the minis-

¹ See Appendix C, interview 2.

² See Appendix C, interview 3.

ter is money conscious; that is, he emphasizes the importance of money to his congregation and is continuously devising new ways of confiscating the monies. Symbolic reference is also made when he said, "...but he's like the rest of them Baptist, he likes his liquor". This implies that Baptist ministers, as far as the informant knows, are all generally liquor drinkers.

The following statements made by another lower middle-class informant E, show similar symbolic references. This 35 year old visiting teacher of Baptist denomination said:

I don't think Friendship's pastor is a dominant person; doesn't get participation of members; he's not dynamic, too much interest in politics, must think he's a politician.... Now J. at Greater Mt. Calvary is more or less a 'dictator'. I don't like the set up. He makes decisions; tells people what to do.... B. is a dictator, too. Nothing but a "Hitler".

Obviously in the above statements the informant is making symbolic references to ministers of the various churches in the city. The reference "doesn't get participation of members, he's not dynamic" denotes that the informant likes ministers who are forceful and active in the activities of the church. He further accentuates this feeling by the statement, "too, much interest in politics; must think he's a politician". Evidently the informant feels the minister is too interested in activities not directly associated with the church. The expression, "now J. is more or less a dictator" indicates that the informant feels that the minister is the domineering type of person, autocratic in his leadership and organization. Symbolic reference of the same nature is also made when he said, "B. is a dictator, too. Nothing but a Hitler".

Informant G had this symbolic reference to make about her own church:

There is a rumor that only the white, light folk go to our church. It's not true but Rev. P., the first Negro preacher we had, had to break down prejudice because several members stopped coming when he took over.... Now we have some of the darkest people anywhere.¹

Informant G evidently is conscious of the rumors made in reference to her church. Such an expression as she uses, "there's a rumor that only white, light folk go to our church" was revealed in several statements by other informants. Her follow up statement, "it's not true...now we have some of the darkest people anywhere" seems to be somewhat of a defense mechanism against comments of this nature in reference to her church.

RATING BY STATUS REPUTATION

Warner² believes that almost all interviews involving conversations centered around several people in a given community are filled with references to "Status Reputation" whether they are conscious, unconscious, direct or indirect. The following statements support this belief. In regard to the status reputation of church goers in general informant A had this to say:

Majority of good people - teachers, doctors, lawyers - don't go to church as a whole; feel they're too smart to be jilted by preacher, think they are on equal basis with preacher.... Most in church are 'hypocrites', preachers run away educated using money for what it isn't supposed to be used.³

An Episcopalian informant made the following general status reference about churches in the Atlanta Negro community:

¹See Appendix C, interview 7.

²Op. cit., Social Class in America, p. 73.

³See Appendix C, interview 1.

Ain't nothing to Christian religion but racket..... Sanctified 'Niggers' ain't nothing but a racket; ain't nothing to them; talk about giving you luck, you got to make your own luck; ain't got none himself..... Some good people in all of them but majority of them crooks. Preachers are crooks..... Now there goes a preacher who'll cuss you out in a minute.¹

Informant F of the same religious denomination had this to say in regard to the status reputation of the Atlanta church congregation in general:

You find from highest type to lowest type, academically and socially in the church. All attend some time or another but you find in Atlanta more people with less education in the most popular churches - Baptist and Methodist.²

The number of status reputation references in regard to Atlanta Negro churches are far from exhausted in this chapter. See Appendix C for similar references.

Specific status reputation references were made in respect to the various churches in the city as well as to members of these churches. Typical examples of how the informants often refer to the status reputation of churches and their members are listed below. Informant F, an Episcopalian, had this to say:

In the First Congregational Church you have M., a banker, Y., his partner, H., President of Atlanta Life, M., Vice-Pres. of Atlanta Life. They're the community leaders from an economic, social, academic point of view..... Most leaders are in Congregational Church by far. The Congregational, Presbyterian, Episcopalian, without a doubt, in this town, have the leaders and the most intelligent people. Its probably true

¹Interview 3.

²Interview 6.

in any town....

Bishop B. is a pretty wealthy man; has a complex though; doesn't have the background to talk intelligent; has a fleet of cars. He has leadership ability but when you consider the type of people who follow him, you can understand. There are no Alpha, Omega or Sigma fellows over there....

Now Rising Star ain't nothing but an illiterate, alley crowd; catches the stuff that Friendship won't have. Say now if you don't have the right clothes to wear to Friendship you go around the corner to Rising Star....

Walker's Tabernacle is the same way but they're good people; just on the lowest social and economic level.

The following comments were made by informant G, a devout Congregationalist:

Now Friendship think they got the best church in the city, and probably have because in some ways its better organized than ours....

I don't know anything about the Holy Rollers except I know they're noisy, use to be a bunch in this neighborhood....

The Methodist, that's where you find politics. Bishops just move people around. I forget what kind of money you call it but if you don't bring it in, the Bishop moves you from a big church to a little one. Bishops buy themselves in....

Most young people join the church (Congregational) to get in clubs for prestige. A person sees you at church, asks you to join his club, status goes up.

We consider ourselves as the most outstanding and we really do but I tell 'em we're losing prestige. If we don't look out other churches are going to take over.

Informant C, "a radical", of Episcopalian denomination, made this status reputation reference:

They gittin rotten in Congregational Church, lot of people quitting - wife interrupts and says, yeah, Dean B. took her membership to Ebenezer; I think she got more recognition. And they got the richest church in Atlanta.

Informant J, an AME minister, made these status reputation references:

No intelligent person who is in research would go to the 'church in the alley' where that old man beats drums. He would go to the Episcopal, Friendship, Ebenezer or Allen Temple.

The 'church in the Alley' refers to the store front churches located in run-down areas of the city as described earlier by the informant:

In the slum areas of Atlanta will be seen the store front church with old ladies dressed in white robes and long streamers.... These churches have no set form of worship. They beat tambourines, dance, carry on strange antics....

Continuing his status references, informant J said:

With the Baptists its a toss up between Ebenezer and Friendship and Wheat Street with Liberty following close behind from the intelligent viewpoint. There's a sprinkling of intelligence in other Methodist and Baptist churches.

Noticing that he continued to use the word "intelligence" the interviewer asked the informant just what did he mean by intelligence. He answered by saying:

Intelligence, you know, begets intelligence; tied to the same string as 'class'. It would be found in certain churches of Atlanta that where leadership is intelligent and proliferic there may be found the school men, professional men and upgrade students.

Similar remarks were made by several other informants. Among the more revealing statements is the one made by informant L, an unemployed 25 year old male of Methodist denomination:

I tell you something they say used to be before my time. Tell me the Congregational used to investigate anybody who wanted to join. You had to be a big 'Nigger' before you could join. Not like that anymore but they're supposed to be Aristocratic. I don't know what that is, 'society', I guess.... The Congregational is a smaller church; not too many young members, mostly all professional people; highly recognized people in Atlanta society are members.

There ain't too many well educated members in Friendship to carry out programs of all sorts, except financial.... Most members are poor, hard working people....

Big Bethel used to be outstanding but they had some kind of mess and split when Rev. P. came here. I don't know what it was.

Informant K was interviewed after his insistence that he knew all about Negro churches in Atlanta. He supported his boastfulness by offering revealing data especially in regard to the status reputation of Churches in the city. Talking in a rapid tongue as if this was the opportune time for him to release a heavy burden or mounting tension, he said:

This First Congregational Church is supposed to be the 'cream of the crop'. All the leading professional men of the city of Atlanta go there.... When you say you a member of the First Congregational, as B. put it, you're somebody. You call off the leading men and ask them where they go to church; goes back to Congregational - M., D., Y., (reference to leading men in city)....

Did you ever talk to J. at Friendship, a regular guy; lay it right down to you. Members mostly college professors - Dr. M., all Morehouse, Spelman girls; the college type, professional men. Most postal clerks are members. Just a college atmosphere, a higher type service....

People in large churches - Warren, Friendship, Wheat Street, Congregational - all in same category; look on religion in a different way. The type of song that moves a person in a

smaller church won't move these people. They want Ave Maria. The 'die-in-the-wool' people appreciate that old stuff but young folk want form and fashion.

RATING BY SIMPLE CLASS ASSIGNMENT

Rating by "Simple Assignment" to a class, being the class placement of an individual or family, and occasionally an associate, by assignment to a social class previously defined, explicitly states that the subject referred to is definitely in or out of a given class¹. In this respect many of the informants made such assignments not only to the various churches and / or denominations but also to the members of these churches. Typical of these simple class assignments are the following statements. Informant A made these kinds of remarks:

Different classes of people go to different churches because of different ministers. You have the 'whooping and hollering' preacher, the country preacher. The Congregational is definitely different.... The high class churches are Wheat Street...Big Bethel...and Ebenezer.... The middle-class - Providence, Mt. Moriah and West Hunter. The lower income group - Rising Star and Mt. Olive.... St. Paul's about middle-class. Miss B. around the corner is a member, works over in administration building as somebody's secretary; husband a letter carrier. I think Mr. B. goes there, too.

This informant evidently associates income with class. It is noticed that in reference to the low-class group he uses "lower income" rather than class as in the previous groups named.

Informant B had this to say:

In churches I'm against, Congregational, Big Bethel, Ebenezer, people are of upper type, high standard with the most capital. All

¹ Warner and Lunt, op. cit., p. 80.

type of people in 'good' and 'bad' churches
but middle and lower class in good churches.

A similar remark by informant D exhibits the same resentment for the upper-class churches:

...ain't no better or bad churches but high
class and low class churches, you know the
'stinks' and the 'regulars'.

Such churches as the First Congregational, Wheat Street, Big Bethel, Friendship and St. Paul's Episcopal were referred to by this informant as 'stinks'. The so-called 'regulars' included South Atlanta Methodist, Zion Hill Baptist, Bethlehem Church of God and Providence Baptist. Informant D seems to hold a grudge against the churches she lists as 'stinks' for possibly several reasons. First, these churches are evidently upper class and her class affiliation does not allow her to become a member. Secondly, as she points out in the course of the discussion, she resents not being recognized and treated warmly as a visitor when attending these churches. The fact that she is of a dark complexion is her outlet or rationalization for criticizing these churches so harshly.

Informant J, the AME minister, who said he was giving the facts as they were, had this to say in respect to what churches are upper-class:

Going by intelligence I'd say St. Paul,
Friendship, Wheat Street, Big Bethel,
Allen Temple and First Congregational...
Providence would be in, if you just include
the minister.

The use of Simple Class Assignment is also seen in the remarks of Informant K:

....The AME what you might call cater to
the higher type Negro, the educated Negro.
The Methodist gets part of them. The CME
is just existing.... Little store fronts'

membership made up of 'walk-of-life' people, ordinary, working, domestic class.

A statement by Informant E on the attendance of members in the various churches reveals some indication of Class Assignment:

As you might know, the middle-class don't attend much as the upper-class, if there is such a class. The upper lower are more emotional, sincere; sing most, shout; concerned about saving souls.... Middle-class don't follow what they call the less fortunate, less literate people.... Take F. A., Sunday School teacher at my church. Never been to church in six years I been there.... Classes segregate themselves in church. Certain classes go to Congregational, more or less Catholic or Presbyterian; feel that they get prestige.

A more pointed comment by this informant is:

Congregationalists are more or less professional.... More doctors, lawyers particularly found in this church.... Congregational people exhibit high cultural and social standards, observe the law of professional ethics.

In reference to the members of a specific church, informant F said:

.... There's W., a lawyer and H., who doesn't rank too high socially but ranks high in the social class of domestic servants. In her way she's one of the outstanding business women. S. P. left Friendship, went to Wheat Street. She's a leader in the high ranking social set.... Bishop B...church is well organized but members are ordinary class of people...you know, on the low strata of life.

Informant I made several quick but revealing statements in regard to simple assignment of churches denominationally:

The Methodist and Baptist taken the general run of people; the upper lower class. A different type flocks to the Episcopal, same as go to the Catholic. People believe in ritual, don't want much to say; the upper middle. Among sects I think you'll find those persons between upper lower and middle lower, don't you? The lower-lower don't go to church hardly.... The Church

of God attracts the same type as the Baptist and Methodists.... On the basis of what the Negro calls 'elite' I'd say this, in the Congregational church there are a lot of people called 'elite' but G. J. ain't no more of an elite morally than anybody else. Take the '27 Club' for instance. The Y.'s and M.'s, that crowd, old heads who have accumulated money.... A lot of 'em in Episcopal, too.... Just from reading the paper I'd say Friendship is also called elite with a few T.M.A.'s.... Greater Mt. Calvary is a poor man's church.

The "27 Club" referred to in the above statement is a high class social club in the city with a selected membership of men in the upper income bracket. By use of institutional membership as well as the income bracket of their respective members, informant I assigns the churches mentioned to various classes. The reference to "T.M.A." is made in respect to an individual whose class position in the Atlanta community is upper-class.

RATING BY COMPARISON

Consciously or unconsciously, people in given communities make comparisons between the social levels of people in their communities.¹ They are, however, frequently unaware of the fact that they are using the technique of rating by comparison.² Several comparisons of this nature in regard to churches and members were made. An example is taken from a comment of a lower middle class informant:

Intelligence is above average at the AME but you won't find intelligence at Allen Temple and St. Paul (AME churches), you find it at the Episcopal church.... B. is top man in the city with national appeal but U. has the best, most intelligent group

¹ This statement is based on personal experiences as well as findings of research studies of Warner, Davis, Drake, et al.

² Warner and Lunt, op. cit., p. 78.

in the bunch - masters and bachelors.¹

The informant ranks the denominations as well as the membership by intelligence. His conceptions of intelligence, however, mentioned in an earlier statement, clarifies his meaning in this context.

The following is also an illustration of comparison of denominations and membership. When asked about church membership of Atlanta Negro churches, in general, informant I had this to say:

You find the most ignorant Negroes are in Baptist churches. Course there are some in Methodist. The reason more in Baptist cause there are more Baptist than Methodist, isn't that right?²

In her comparison of denominations informant I, a middle-class professional worker says this:

The Baptist and Methodist condemn certain things, the Episcopal, Catholic and Congregational don't. They say your religion is individual. It's hardly possible to violate any thing because they don't have rigid rules set up. They don't believe in emotions.

It is obvious that such statements are generalizations and they warrant more than speculation. While it is generally true that some denominations are more lenient in respect to punishment for immoral behavior, they do incorporate some punishment.

The basic questions receiving support from the interview data are: (1) What differences and likenesses, if any, can be revealed between the levels of church affiliation and the status reputation of its members? (2) Are the status scores assigned to Negro churches coterminous with status reputation

¹See Appendix, interview 10.

²See Appendix, interview 12.

of its members? It is also obvious that certain corollary questions are elucidated and supported by much of the data revealed. Characteristic of these questions are: (1) Does status factor have any effect on people becoming members in various churches? Several interview statements indicate that it does. To reiterate a typical example, informant E commented that:

Classes segregate themselves in the church.
Certain classes go to Congregational.... Feel
that they get prestige.¹

Another corollary question is (2) What churches carry the highest class of membership? The lowest? Informant I sheds some light upon these questions when she makes such remarks as:

The Methodist and the Baptist take the general
run of people, the upper lower-class. A
different type flocks to the Episcopal, same
as go to the Catholic...the upper middle-class.
Among sects...you find those persons between
the upper lower and lower middle....²

The techniques used in analyzing the interview materials are helpful devices for stratifying churches in a metropolitan community and for placing individuals at given social levels on the basis of their church affiliation. These techniques: (1) Symbolic Placement, (2) Status Reputation, (3) Simple Class Assignment and (4) Comparison, were also fruitful channels through which the analyst could ascertain or test the reliability of the ranking scale used. (See Chapter Two)

The interview data presented in this chapter reveals that there is consistency between the ranking scale and the opinions and feelings of the

¹See Appendix, interview 5.

²See Appendix, interview 9.

people in the Atlanta Negro community. With the exception of one church, (Providence Baptist) the same churches were categorized as upper-class or Class I by the informants and the ranking scale. The inconsistency shown was in regard to the positions of individual churches in the upper-class group. Hence, the ranking scale device appears to be a productive technique for measuring social status.

Symbolism is an all-pervading concept in the area of social behavior but usually only a few such traits are selected and frequently used in given areas. The symbolic reference is usually indirect: in the Atlanta Negro community, for example, the terms "cream-of-the-crop", "autocratic" and "big shot", indicate high social status. Other such terms as "grafter", "dictator" and "high yellow", are often used and have their special connotation. It would be impossible to exhaust the number of different terms used. The data revealed here, however, indicates that these references and similar ones are made in regard to churches as well as the people.

Any concept or reference evaluated as superior or inferior is used in rating by "Status Reputation". The interviewer assigns an individual to a given class because he has a reputation for participating in certain social activities and possessing social status characteristics of a given class in the community. Oftentimes references in respect to status reputation are unconsciously made. Examples of such references have been illustrated in this chapter. The churches and individuals referred to may or may not possess the characteristics assigned to them but since people believe they have them, such traits become a part of their status reputation in the community. Churches are frequently referred to by the informants as "big shot", "die-in-the-wool", "church in the alley", "stinks" and "regulars".

These characterizations about the various churches in Atlanta as well as similar references to individuals are definitely part of their status reputation.

Similar conclusive remarks can be made in regard to rating by Simple Class Assignment and rating by Comparison. Both techniques, however, are clearly explained in this chapter. The detailed discussion of these two techniques merely helps spell out the importance of all four techniques in measuring social status. The primary interest of the interview was to look at the problem through the eyes of the people, since they are the final authorities about "what is" and "what isn't" in terms of social class in their communities.

The analysis of statements and comments indicates that no attempt was made to impose the rank of the scale upon the informants but rather a procedure was designed by which the feelings and judgments of the people could be translated into results comparable to those of the scale. The result of this procedure is shown in Table 22 of this chapter. A comparison of the two techniques or procedures is made in Chapter Four.

CHAPTER IV

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

In summarizing this thesis, it is convenient to restate, briefly, the purpose, in terms of the guiding hypotheses, the questions, and the methodological procedure followed in selecting data to test the hypotheses, and to shed light upon the questions.

The primary interest of this thesis was focused upon two problems:

(1) the way in which status behavior is reflected by one's church affiliation and (2) how patterns of status behavior are related to selected objective characteristics of the church. In view of these problems two basic hypotheses became the foundation upon which the study rests:

It is hypothesized that one's evaluation of another's behavior in a given social institution, e. g., the church, the factory or the school, can be employed as a means of understanding social behavior. It is further hypothesized that institutional affiliation is a productive concept for inquiring into the nature of status behavior.

Another hypothesis is: that among urban Negroes, due to the complexity of institutional behavior in urban life, there is a tendency for them to participate in those institutions coterminous with their social standings in the community.

Underlying these hypotheses and the problems mentioned above were several pointed questions. These questions were designed to serve as guides for the study and as channels through which illuminating data could be collected to enhance the problems.

Is it possible, through the use of arbitrarily selected indices, to arrange churches, in a southern metropolitan community, into discriminating levels reflecting status patterns in the church affiliation of its members?

What differences and likenesses, if any, can be revealed between the levels of church affiliation and the status reputation of its members?

In ranking Negro churches along a scale of arbitrary values, what discriminating status forces, if any, exists between them?

Are the status scores assigned to Negro churches coterminous with the status reputation of its members?

It is clearly indicated by the data revealed that the basic hypotheses are productive of studying status behavior in the urban society. To ascertain the extent to which the data supports these hypotheses as well as to test the degree of confidence which could be placed in the ranking scale, a comparison of the data revealed in Chapters two and three proved fruitful.

Chapter Two, which presents those data from the schedule administered, reveals that, on the basis of arbitrarily selected indices, churches in a southern metropolis can be arranged into some sense-making hierarchial pattern. The tabular presentations in this Chapter show specific characteristics and / or factors which made for the particular arrangements shown. Each class of churches was treated separately for purposes of close analysis to ascertain what discriminating forces exist between them. It is further revealed that the following social status indices tend to be much more discriminating in ranking the churches than others: (1) value of church building, (2) salary of the minister, (3) education of the minister, (4) size of membership and (5) the number of churches pastored by the minister. The tables presented in Chapter Two and the corollary tables in Appendix A indicate that all the items on the schedule are revealing and discriminatory in some respect. It is also apparent that all of the guiding questions are supported by the data shown.

Chapter Three, confined to the interview materials, supports the arrangement of churches shown in Chapter Two, as well as the general conclusions made. It is pointed out in this Chapter that the only difference between the scale arrangement and the arrangement made by informants is in terms of the position of particular churches, especially in regard to churches categorized in Class I by the scale. The use of the techniques, symbolic placement, status reputation, simple class assignment and comparison clearly reveal that people recognize social status patterns and are cognizant of these patterns in the religious community; that is, they recognize that the status factor operates in determining one's church affiliation. Several of the value indices revealed that there is definite relationship between church affiliation and one's social standing in the Atlanta Negro Community. The socioeconomic indices most revealing and discriminating, according to the informants, were education, occupation, wealth and source of income.

Frequent comments were also made in regard to "color". The frequency of such remarks tends to support the conclusions of several studies by sociologists, especially Warner¹ and Drake². This study shows that light skin Negroes are placed in a specific church on the basis of their color and other value-laden indices; that is, they are assigned to a given church affiliation if they are in the upper income group and have favorable skin complexions. Because of the number of possible operating factors, however, it is difficult to ascertain whether or not skin color has a direct influence on an individual's church affiliation. It has been indicated above

¹W. L. Warner, Color and Human Nature (Washington, 1944).

²St. Clair Drake and Horace Cayton, op. cit.

that several factors operate in placing churches and / or individuals into specific classes or categories.

The fruitfulness of these procedures is seen in the fact that both support the hypotheses and / or questions which guide the study. It is further seen that the two procedures support each other. The subjective materials, however, which penetrate more into the feelings and understandings of the people, present a much more revealing picture than the data revealed through the schedule. Despite this difference, there is considerable agreement between the two techniques.

On the basis of the organization of the data presented in this study and the analysis made, it appears safe to make the following tentative conclusive statements. It should be emphasized that these statements are no more than suggested hypotheses for further study:

It is possible, through the use of arbitrarily selected socioeconomic and church behavior indices, to arrange churches, in the metropolitan community, into discriminating levels reflecting social status patterns in the church affiliation of its members.

Social status scores assigned to churches, on the basis of these arbitrarily selected indices, tend to be coterminous with the status reputation of its members.

The existing operating forces which arrange the churches into discriminatory levels are varied to an extent but such factors as education of the minister, value of the church building, the minister's salary and the size of membership tend to be more discriminating.

The arrangement of churches into arbitrary classes is a productive procedure for inquiring into social status behavior as it is manifested in church affiliation.

In view of this thesis exercise, the following tentative yet conclusive

statement might be made:

In any urban society, where people are found in heterogeneous groups, there will be found some kind of differential behavior which will arrange individuals into some kind of hierarchial pattern. The criteria for such an arrangement may be socio-economic indices or other selected behavior indices. Regardless of the criteria used or the number of differential groups which result from the ranking or division, it is evident that the urban society, in this frame, is a fruitful and productive laboratory through which sociologists can get at the nature of social status.

In this thesis, social status has been revealed through an urban institution, the church. It is believed that the same methodological procedure if used on other social institutions will produce similar results, adding empirical data to the expanding library of sociological knowledge.

APPENDIX

APPENDIX A : TABLES

TABLE 23

CHURCHES BY SEATING CAPACITY OF AUDITORIUM
AND MEMBERSHIP

Church	Membership	Seating Capacity of Auditorium	Church	Membership	Seating Capacity of Auditorium
Baptist			Episcopal		
Appalachee	20	75	St. Paul's	396	196
Bethlehem	2,000	500	Congregational		
Calvary Grove	30	200	First Congregational	505	750
Community	175	150	Lutheran		
Fair Hill	150	200	St. Mark's Evangelical	40	120
Friendship	800	500	Presbyterian		
Grant's Temple	5	500	Rice Memorial	170	350
Greater Mt. Calvary	3,200	1,000	Methodist AME		
Iconium	500	500	Allen Temple	1,760	700
Mt. Nebo	600	400	Big Bethel	3,000	1,600
Mt. Vernon	2,750	900	Cosmopolitan	1,400	500
New Salem	62	150	Methodist AMEZ		
Providence	310	750	Shaw Temple	100	500
Rising Star	2,000	650	Methodist CME		
Silver Leaf	82	200	St. John	56	300
Springfield	600	350	Methodist ME		
Little Friendship Miss.	500	750	South Atlanta	529	750
Pleasant Hill Miss.	275	300	Centenary Memorial	105	250
Thankful	300	750	Other		
Walker's Tabernacle	150	350	Church of God in Christ	200	400
Wheat Street	5,000	2,000	Mt. Zion Holiness	10	100
Zion Hill	2,000	1,000	St. Lily Fire Baptized	35	200
Seven Day Adventist			Mt. Zion United Holiness	18	150
Berean	470	600	Universal Church of God	15	30
Catholic			Solomon's Temple	25	65
Our Lady of Lourdes	509	200	Refuge Church of Christ	35	250
			Bethlehem Church of God	1,800	2,600

TABLE 24

CLASS I CHURCHES BY DENOMINATION AND SELECTED
CHARACTERISTICS OF MINISTER

Denomi- nation	No. of Churches	Educational Level of Minister								Minister's Salary						No. Churches Pastored				Service Rendered Churches	
		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	1	2	3	4	5	6	1	2	3	4	Full time	Half time
Total	9																				
Baptist	4								1					1					1		
									1					1					1		
									1					1					1		
									1					1					1		
Congre- gational	1								1						1				1		
Episco- pal	1								1				1						1		
AME	2							1	1					1					1		
									1					1					1		
ME	1								1		1								1		
Totals	9	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	7	0	0	1	1	6	1	0	0	0	9	9	0

TABLE 25

CLASS I CHURCHES ACCORDING TO SIZE OF MEMBERSHIP
AND RANK OF CHURCH

Denomi- nation	Church	Size of Membership	Rank of Church
B	Wheat Street	5,000	9
B	Greater Mt. Calvary	3,200	1.5
AME	Big Bethel	3,000	5
B	Zion Hill	2,000	5
AME	Allen Temple	1,760	7.5
B	Friendship	800	3
ME	South Atlanta	529	7.5
CO	First Congregational	505	1.5
E.	St. Paul's	396	5

TABLE 26

ACCESSARY ACTIVITIES OF CLASS I CHURCHES BY
NUMBER AND PERCENT OF FREQUENCY

Number of Churches	Accessary Activities	Percent of Frequency
9	Sunday School	100.00
9	Official Literature	100.00
9	Graded Classes	100.00
9	Youth Organizations	100.00
7	Forums, Debates, etc.	77.80
1	Nursery School (Day)	11.11
5	Organized Recreation- al Program	55.60
6	Children's Sermon	66.70
4	Other Activities	44.44

TABLE 27

CLASS I CHURCHES BY MEMBERSHIP AND MINISTER'S SALARY

Denomi- nation	Church	Membership (in hundreds)	Minister's Salary (in hundreds of dollars)
B	Wheat Street	50	40 - 50
B	Greater Mt. Calvary	32	40 - 50
AME	Big Bethel	30	40 - 50
B	Zion Hill	20	40 - 50
AME	Allen Temple	17.6	40 - 50
B	Friendship	8	40 - 50
ME	South Atlanta	5.29	20 - 30
C	First Congregational	5.05	50 - 60
E	Saint Paul's	3.96	30 - 40

TABLE 28

CLASS II CHURCHES BY DENOMINATION AND SELECTED
CHARACTERISTICS OF MINISTER

Denomi- nation	No. of Churches	Educational Level of Minister								Minister's Salary						No. Churches Pastored				Services Rendered Churches	
		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	1	2	3	4	5	6	1	2	3	4	Full time	Half time
Baptist	5				1	1	1		1			1	1	1				1	1	1	1
							1						1	1					1		
									1										1		
																			1		
Presbyter- ian	1								1				1						1	1	
AMEZ	1								1				1						1	1	
Seven Day Adventist	1				1								1						1	1	
Catholic	1								1				1						1	1	
AME	1			1										1					1	1	
Totals	10	0	0	1	2	1	2	2	2	0	0	5	3	2	0	0	0	1	9	9	1

TABLE 29

CLASS II CHURCHES ACCORDING TO SIZE OF
MEMBERSHIP AND RANK OF CHURCH

Denomi- nation	Church	Size of Membership	Rank by Scale Score
Baptist	Mt. Vernon	2,750	14.5
Baptist	Bethlehem	2,000	10.5
AME	Cosmopolitan	1,400	17.5
Catholic	Our Lady of Lourdes	509	17.5
Baptist	Iconium	500	16
Seven Day Adventist	Berean	470	14.5
Baptist	Pleasant Hill Miss.	275	19
Baptist	Providence	310	10.5
Presbyterian	Rice Memorial	170	13
AMEZ	Shaw Temple	100	12

TABLE 30

ACCESSARY ACTIVITIES OF CLASS II CHURCHES
BY NUMBER AND PERCENT OF FREQUENCY

Number of Churches	Accessary Activities	Percent of Frequency
9	Sunday School	90.00
9	Official Literature	90.00
9	Graded Classes	90.00
9	Youth Organizations	90.00
4	Forums, Debates, etc.	40.00
2	Nusery School (Day)	20.00
4	Organized Recreational Program	40.00
5	Children's Sermon	50.00
1	Other Activities	10.00

TABLE 31

CLASS II CHURCHES BY MEMBERSHIP
AND MINISTER'S SALARY

Denomination	Church	Total Membership (in hundreds)	Minister's Salary (in hundreds of dollars)
B	Providence	3.10	\$35
B	Bethlehem	20.00	45
AMEZ	Shaw Temple	1.00	20
P	Rice Memorial	1.70	25
B	Mt. Vernon	27.50	45
S	Berean	4.70	25
B	Iconium	5.00	35
AME	Cosmopolitan	14.00	35
CA	Our Lady of Lourdes	5.09	25
B	Pleasant Hill Miss.	2.75	25

TABLE 32

CLASS III CHURCHES BY DENOMINATION AND SELECTED
CHARACTERISTICS OF MINISTER

Denomi- nation	No. of Churches	Educational Level of Minister								Minister's Salary						No. Churches Pastored				Service Rendered Churches	
		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	1	2	3	4	5	6	1	2	3	4	Full time	Half time
Baptist	5	1	1	1		1	1	1			1	1	1					1		1	
											1		1					1			1
																		1			1
Methodist	1				1						1								1		1
					1						1								1		
CME	1		1								1								1		
Lutheran	1							1			1							1			
Other	2	1					1				1	1					1		1		1
Totals	10	1	2	1	1	1	2	2	0	0	6	2	2	0	0	0	1	5	4	5	5

TABLE 33

CLASS III CHURCHES BY SIZE OF MEMBERSHIP
AND RANK OF CHURCH

Denomination	Church	Size of Membership	Rank by Scale Score
O	Bethlehem Church of God	1,800	29
B	Springfield	600	22
B	Mt. Nebo	600	24
B	Little Friendship Miss.	500	20
B	Community	175	25.5
B	Walker's Tabernacle	150	27.5
ME	Centenary Memorial	105	22
CME	Saint John	56	25.5
L	Saint Mark's	40	27.5
O	St. Lily Fire Baptized Holy Church	35	22

TABLE 34

ACCESSARY ACTIVITIES OF CLASS III CHURCHES
BY NUMBER AND PERCENT OF FREQUENCY

Number of Churches	Accessary Activities	Percent of Frequency
10	Sunday School	100.00
10	Official Literature	100.00
10	Graded Classes	100.00
7	Youth Organizations	70.00
3	Forums, Debates, etc.	30.00
1	Organized Recreational Program	10.00
7	Children's Sermon	70.00
2	Other Activities	20.00

TABLE 35

CLASS III CHURCHES BY MEMBERSHIP AND MINISTER'S SALARY

Denomi- nation	Church	Total Membership (in hundreds)	Minister's Salary (in hundred dollars)
O	Bethlehem Church of God	13	25
B	Springfield	6	35
B	Mt. Nebo	6	15
B	Little Friendship Miss.	5	35
B	Community	1.75	15
B	Walker's Tabernacle	1.50	25
ME	Centenary Memorial	1.05	15
CME	St. John	.56	15
L	St. Mark's	.40	15
O	St. Lily Fire Baptized	.35	15

TABLE 36

CLASS IV CHURCHES BY DENOMINATION AND SELECTED
CHARACTERISTICS OF THE MINISTER

Denomi- nation	No. of Churches	Educational Level of Minister								Minister's Salary						No. Churches Pastored				Service Rendered Churches	
		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	1	2	3	4	5	6	1	2	3	4	Full time	Half time
Baptist	7	2	1	2		2				3	3		1				1	3	3		7
Other	3		2	1						2	1								2	2	1
Totals	10	2	3	3	0	2	0	0	0	5	4	0	1	0	0	0	1	3	6	2	8

TABLE 37

CLASS IV CHURCHES BY SIZE OF MEMBERSHIP AND
RANK OF CHURCH

Denomination	Church	Size of Membership	Rank by Scale Score
B	Rising Star	2,000	34
B	Thankful	300	32
O	Jones Avenue Church of God in Christ	200	30.5
B	Fair Hill	150	33
B	Silver Leaf	82	30.5
B	New Salem	62	36
O	Refuge Church of Christ	35	35
O	Solomon's Temple	25	38.5
B	Appalachee	20	37
B	Grant's Temple	5	38.5

TABLE 38

ACCESSARY ACTIVITIES OF CLASS IV CHURCHES BY NUMBER
AND PERCENT OF FREQUENCY

Number of Churches	Accessary Activities	Percent of Frequency
10	Sunday School	100.00
10	Official Literature	100.00
10	Graded Classes	100.00
4	Youth Organizations	40.00
2	Forums, Debates, etc.	20.00
1	Nursery School (Day)	10.00
0	Organized Recreational Program	6.00
4	Children's Sermon	40.00
0	Other Activities	6.00

TABLE 39

CLASS IV CHURCHES BY MEMBERSHIP AND MINISTER'S SALARY

Denomi- nation	Church	Total Membership (in hundreds)	Salary of Minister (in hundred dollars)
B	Rising Star	20	35
B	Thankful	3	15
O	Jones Avenue Church of God	2	5
B	Fair Hill	1.5	15
B	Silver Leaf	.82	5
B	New Salem	.62	15
O	Refuge Church of Christ	.35	15
O	Solomon's Temple	.25	5
B	Appalachee	.20	5
B	Grant's Temple	.05	5

TABLE 40

CLASS V CHURCHES BY DENOMINATION AND SELECTED
CHARACTERISTICS OF MINISTER

Denomi- nation	No. of Churches	Educational Level of Minister								Minister's Salary						No. of Churches Pastored				Service Rendered Church	
		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	1	2	3	4	5	6	1	2	3	4	Full time	Half time
Baptist	1	1								1								1			1
Other	3	1	1							1							1	1	1	1	1
			1							1											
		2	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	2	1	1	3

TABLE 41

CLASS V CHURCHES BY SIZE OF MEMBERSHIP AND
RANK OF CHURCH

Denomi- nation	Church	Size of Membership	Rank by Scale Score
B	Calvary Grove	30	41.5
O	Mt. Zion United Holiness	18	41.5
O	Universal Church of God	15	43
O	Mt. Zion Holiness Church of God	10	40

TABLE 42

ACCESSARY ACTIVITIES OF CLASS V CHURCHES BY
NUMBER AND PERCENT OF FREQUENCY

Number of Churches	Accessary Activities	Percent of Frequency
4	Sunday School	100.00
3	Official Literature	75.00
2	Graded Classes	50.00
0	Youth Organizations	0.00
0	Forums, Debates, etc.	0.00
0	Nursery School (Day)	0.00
0	Organized Recreational Program	0.00
1	Children's Sermons	25.00
0	Other Activities	0.00

TABLE 43

CLASS V CHURCHES BY MEMBERSHIP
AND MINISTER'S SALARY

Denomination	Church	Total Membership (actual No.)	Salary of Minister (in thousands)
B	Calvary Grove	30	.5
0	Mt. Zion United Holiness	18	.5
0	Universal Church of God	15	.5
0	Mt. Zion Holiness Church of God	10	.5

APPENDIX B: MAPS

MAP 1

A SPOT MAP SHOWING
THE DISTRIBUTION OF ATLANTA NEGRO CHURCHES
BY DENOMINATION
AS LISTED IN THE 1951-1952 CITY DIRECTORY



MAP 1

This Map shows the distribution of Atlanta Negro churches by denomination. The purpose of Map 1 is to reveal the extent to which Negro churches cluster near or around the center of the city and the amount of dispersion among them.

EXPLANATION OF SYMBOLS FOR MAP 1

●	Baptist
○	Methodist
⊙	AMEZ
⊕	AME
⊖	CME
■	Catholic
◻	Lutheran
⊠	Congregational
▲	Presbyterian
△	Seven Day Adventist
△	Other : Holiness, Church of God and Church of Christ

MAP 2


A SPOT MAP SHOWING
THE DISTRIBUTION OF THE FORTY-THREE CHURCHES
STUDIED BY DENOMINATION



MAP 2

This Map reveals the distribution of the forty-three churches studied by denomination. The general tendency of clustering revealed in Map 1 is seen to a lesser degree on this Map. The purpose of Map 2 is to indicate the extent to which the sample churches were distributed throughout the various areas of the city.

EXPLANATION OF SYMBOLS FOR MAP 2

	Baptist
	Methodist
	AMEZ
	AME
	CME
	Catholic
	Other
	Lutheran
	Congregational
	Presbyterian
	Seven Day Adventist
	Episcopal

APPENDIX C : INTERVIEW MATERIALS

INTERVIEW 1

Informant A

Informant is approximately 35 years old, male, married, one child, proprietor of snack shop, of Baptist denomination, obese, conservative dresser, very cooperative but not too talkative, some college training.

Informant lives in southeast section of city in lower middle class neighborhood; ardent church goer, visits various churches frequently; observer of ministers and their sermons; lifetime residence of city.

Social class estimation - lower-middle.

When asked about general church situation in Atlanta informant said:

All churches are on equal basis because all emphasize money; there is no "best" except for individual state of mind at one particular time. I know one minister who is one of "top ten", good minister, good speaker but I attended his church the other Sunday, he talked about money for some building fund or something; when the same minister speaks somewhere else he speaks "the word"; a Roman Cathedral could be built if all the money collected was pooled; one Sunday at our church nearly \$4,000 was raised.

When asked about membership of Atlanta churches informant said:

Majority of good people, teachers, doctors, lawyers, don't go to church as whole; feel they are too smart to be jilted by preacher, think they are on equal basis with preacher; don't worship him or God. Most in the church are "hypocrites", preachers run away educated using money for what it isn't supposed to be used. Church with most educated people is Friendship - common people go to the rest of the churches.

When asked about personal knowledge of various church memberships informant said:

Doctors don't usually go to church, they're afraid minister will ask for something. Dr. Hightower of Zion Hill is a good church supporter. Only lawyer who is good supporter and worker is Walden. Murdock, undertaker, good worker at Mt. Vernon.

When asked about class of churches informant said:

Largest church not necessarily indicate best church, largest church has eloquent preacher but members, I'm inclined to believe, sisters will shout when they hear 'the word'. In a church of three or four thousand the majority shout. In smaller churches of say one hundred fifty, only ten or fifteen

shout. Members in larger church go to be seen not to worship. The same church at night is like Mother Hubbard's Cupboard. Easter Exercise at largest church, Wheat Street, not equal number of parents for number of children. My church, a small church, had much better attendance. Some common class have high goals and give more than others - time and money. Different classes of people go to different churches because of different ministers. You have the whooping and hollering preacher, country preacher. The Congregational is definitely different.

The high class churches are Wheat Street, number one in size and membership, Big Bethel, second in size and Ebenezer. Ones who go to Mr. Moriah look upon members who go to Wheat Street as being high class but they're being misled. The middle class - Providence, Mt. Moriah, West Hunter; the low income group - Rising Star, Mt. Olive; takes person with good salary to go to Wheat Street if you pay dues and taxes what preacher asks, keeps people of Mt. Moriah from going to Wheat Street.

Order of ranking by cards of number of churches known:

Wheat Street - Baptist	St. Mark's - Lutheran
Big Bethel - AME	St. Paul's - Epsicopal
First Congregational	Rising Star - Baptist
Zion Hill - Baptist	Shaw Temple - AMEZ
Friendship - Baptist	Bethlehem Church of God
Mt. Vernon - Baptist	Berean - Sev Day Adventist
Greater Mt. Calvary - Baptist	Centenary Memorial - ME
Cosmopolitan - AME	South Atlanta - ME
Providence - Baptist	Walker's Tabernacle - Baptist
Allen Temple - AME	Fair Hill - Baptist

When asked why certain churches were placed in given positions informant said:

First Congregational church has larger financial membership; four or five members could buy Zion Hill church. Friendship a small church and like I said majority of educated people don't go to church. Greater Mt. Calvary low income but strong in number, packed every Sunday; all people from Mechanicsville and Pittsburg; come all the way from wooden hut to big brick building, individual Sunday School rooms. Fair Hill very small church, had work done on credit, just did outside, didn't do anything inside, you know, what you call "putting up a front". St. Paul's about middle class; Miss Bush around the corner is a member, works over in administration building as somebody's secretary, husband a letter carrier. I think Mr. Brisbane goes there, too. Bethlehem Church of God members seem more sincere about religion, know more about Bible; stop a member and he can quite direct words from Bible, average Baptist can't bit more

tell you than a man in the moon. Other denominations criticize this church but these "holy rollers" can tell you almost anything you want to know about the Bible. I didn't say anything about life. Most of the people are common laborers, maybe one or two professionals.

INTERVIEW 2

Informant B

Informant is 25 years old, male, married, with children, works as mail carrier, of Baptist denomination, short, conservative in dress, college student, very cooperative, talkative in spirits.

Informant lives in northeast section of city in middle class neighborhood, attends church occasionally, visits various churches twice a month when attendance to church is regular, observes rituals and attitudes of members of various churches.

Social class estimation -- lower-middle.

When asked about church situation in general informant said: Women go to church to show off their clothes; this opinion is derived from women from 18 to 34. In general churches have one attendance, the first Sunday, overcrowded. Now take the Congregational, people think only the "rich" or "high yellow" supposed to go there.

When asked about membership in general in Atlanta churches informant said:

In churches, I'm against, Congregational, Big Bethel, Ebenezer, people are of upper type, high standard people with most capital. All type of people in "good" and "bad" churches. Certain classes dominate certain churches by majority in membership.

When asked about personal knowledge of membership of various churches informant said:

Take Graham Jackson in the Congregational, not very socially but well respected in community. Ebenezer Woods, do you want to use his name? He's assistant minister at Big Bethel, good socializer as far as public is concerned but not my idea as leader of church, way he carries himself; aspiring in the ministry and way he carries himself outside is not approved by public; he like to socialize but you can't do that and aspire as minister, not in public.

When asked about classes of churches informant said:

In my opinion the good churches are the Catholic and St. Paul Episcopal. All types of people go to these churches and are treated the same. Majority of other churches are partial toward certain types of people; take now, say the Baptist; you got to pat the preacher on the back and invite him to dinner and feed him better food than you feed the family ordinarily, always raising money. Other churches depend on how service are carried out. Holiness churches with all day service, now I'm against that. I can't name any specific one, most of 'em have Church of God name. From my opinion, in "good" churches you find majority are good citizens, carry themselves in christian like manner. In "bad" churches, christian like in church...just christians while they're in church.

When asked to compare churches informant said:

Big Bethel and Wheat Street services are almost alike. St. Paul's and Catholic are almost identical in membership and services. Majority of Holiness are alike in services and membership - elder people, labors, domestic workers, that'll cover them.

Order of card ranking of churches known to informant:

Our Lady of Lourdes - Catholic	Wheat Street - Baptist
St. Paul's - Episcopal	New Salem - Baptist
Cosmopolitan - AME	St. John - CME
Allen Temple *- AME	Shaw Temple - AMEZ
Providence - Baptist	Mt. Vernon - Baptist
Rice Memorial - Presbyterian	South Atlanta - Methodist
Bethlehem - Baptist	Big Bethel - AME
Zion Hill - Baptist	Springfield - Baptist
Friendship - Baptist	First Congregational
Greater Mt. Calvary - Baptist	Community - Baptist
Calvary Grove - Baptist	Bethlehem Church of God
Silver Leaf - Baptist	Jones Avenue Church of God
	Walker's Tabernacle - Baptist

When asked why certain churches were given specific positions informant said:

Why do I put Congregational church so far down? That's just my opinion. I base my opinion on reaction of people when stranger visits. I attend all churches, I make it my business two Sundays a month to visit churches. Now the Catholic, I like their services and way people greet you. School in Catholic church and recreational facilities in St. Paul; if you have these things for kids, with proper guidance will aid child in understanding religious views of life early and keep him interested. Some other churches have such activities only as means of accommodation but as

far as religious views praising them they're not so high. Wheat Street, I just dislike the church; these statements aren't against pastors in all cases but mostly against members. Any church demand a patron pay so much to maintain membership is not my idea of religion. I've been to churches I've picked once or more. My church would be almost down there with Zion Hill.

INTERVIEW 3

Informant C

Informant is approximately 55 years old, male, married, proprietor of general store, of Episcopal denomination, medium build, conservative dresser, loves to talk.

Informant lives in northeast section of city in lower middle class neighborhood (business district) over place of business, occasional church goer, seldom visits churches other than his own, very critical of religious situation in city; lifetime resident of city.

Social estimation - lower middle.

When asked about church situation in general informant said:

Ain't nothing to christian religion but a racket. Methodist and Baptist nothing but a racket, nothing to them; put your money in there for twenty or thirty years, won't give you nothing. Catholics look out for you, keep your house clean when you're sick. "Sanctified Niggers" ain't nothing but a racket, ain't nothing to 'em; talk about giving you luck, you got to make your own luck; ain't got none hisself. Join the Episcopal you a member 'til death; you don't pay off. Methodist or Baptist church you put out if you don't keep up your dues, if you die out of church they don't know where you are. Member of church up the street died and couldn't even have funeral in church. Some members give \$25.00 a month and yet when they died couldn't have funeral in church. Baptist take all your money and when you get behind in rent they say they ain't paying us rent. Episcopal and Catholic churches try to help you, preachers come and see you when you're sick, don't send you no quarter like that man down the street. One preacher sent a sick member a dollar, never did go to see him.

When asked about membership of Atlanta churches informant said:

Ignorant classes go to church cause they don't know no better. Better people are paid members, hardly ever go, put money in but don't take no interest. Go around drink liquor and gamble like everybody else, that's why I don't put no faith in it. I use to be a member of Wheat Street 'til Borders told me I'd

have a hard time being a christian. If I was going to have a hard time after I got in, no point in me going. I guess I would have a hard time if I did everything they said. First Sunday everybody go to church. Every Sunday gamblers, liquor drinkers all go to church especially the 11:00 o'clock service; go to church, shout, come back and raise more hell than you do, that's the folk who don't miss going to church on Sunday. Catholics, Episcopal, Presbyterian and Congregational are better churches. Catholic and Episcopal are leading - better class of people go there. Biggest 'tendants to Wheat Street are liquor sellers and gamblers. Some good people in all of them but majority of 'em are crooks. Preachers are crooks but you can't say that about 'em cause you'd get in trouble. Now there goes a preacher who'll cuss you out in a minute - (wife interrupts and asks: Who?) - old Mitchell. Sanctified churches are worst 'Niggers', I'm telling you cause I've dealt with all of them, preachers and members; they're crooked 'Niggers', steal, lie. Prophet Swain got two wives, two sets of children, and told me that himself last night; lets one wife come down when other is gone; fixing to leave now, says he's going to let Mother keep children; says he wouldn't set his foot in a church; don't go to church, has meetings in office; says he can make a 'Nigger' move. He had many white people as colored but them white folk fixing to git him in trouble so he leave 'em alone.

When asked about personal members of various churches informant did not indicate any specific members but referred to various ministers:

Now Rev. Potter down street is o.k., I wouldn't say anything 'gainst him. Bishop Burrus, now he's a grafter, got rich off them 'Niggers', don't 'low 'em to wear no rings, ties, nothing, (laughs) got rich off them 'Niggers'. Johnson's all right (minister at Mt. Vernon), fine fellow but he's like the rest of them Baptists, he likes his liquor. Now old Red and a few other deacons down the street, ain't nothing to 'em. They gitting rotten in the Congregational Church, lot of people quitting (wife again interrupts) and says - yeah, Dean Burney took her membership to Ebenezer; I think she gits more recognition. Now, they got the riches church in Atlanta. Congregationalist prejudice to color.

Order of ranking of churches known to informant:

Our Lady of Lourdes - Catholic
St. Paul's - Episcopal
First Congregational
Big Bethel - AME

Greater Mt. Calvary - Baptist
Shaw Temple - AMEZ
Friendship - Baptist
Wheat Street - Baptist

When asked about card arrangement informant said:

No reason at all for order; I just picked 'em out as best churches I know.

INTERVIEW 4

Informant D

Informant is approximately 26 years old, single, female, teacher, of AME denomination, heavy set, fairly conservative dresser, has tendency to dress plain or loud, very talkative.

Informant lives in southeastern section of town in lower class neighborhood; home right behind general store in business district; ardent church goer, visits various churches frequently, very critical of services, members, programs of various churches; lifetime resident of city.

Social class estimate - upper lower.

When asked about general church situation in Atlanta informant said:

I'm particular and peculiar about churches I attend. I like the ritualistic form, some churches have long drawn out prayers, back bending, knee bending - smaller churches. Now I like the ritual in the big churches. Now as far as music is concerned, I've sung in the choir but Ariel Bowen have swing music, be-bop, I feel like I been to the Top Hat, type of music we have destroys basic part of church, that's why people stop going. Reason for this type music is lack of knowledge in personnel, can get them cheaper than trained personnel. Since most Atlanta ministers have been exposed to training in respective church programs the over-all picture is improving; use to be only Wheat Street and Big Bethel where you could get an intellectual service. One thing I don't like about churches, sometimes we have three or four collections. Sometimes four or five collections taken, one for new building, one for preacher's salary, one for conference delegates, one for poor and one for something else. Another thing I think is important, ministers visiting homes, not because somebody is sick but to see if he can help solve home problems as well as spiritual problems. I think a minister should be what he's supposed to be, not playing four or five roles, if you know what I mean (laughs, asks if I know what she means). Minister at all times should live such a life that people can point to it as guiding light; not a preacher on Sunday and a wolf every day and night. Every church should have every national known organization. I mean Boys and Girls Scouts, etc. Sunday School have a monthly education meeting so they can answer questions; trained person will have necessary answers.

When asked about membership in various churches informant said:

In certain sections certain people go to certain churches but you find a cross-section; people go to church they like, where friends go, where accepted and where Mother goes. We have all kinds of people in my church from highest to lowest. I know about Allen Temple, Wheat Street, all the big churches have cross-section. Now we have the type who run transient houses, immoral house, do not go, financial members. When names of these people come up at board meeting minister side-tracks the issue indicating person is financial, minister holds twenty-five financial members on roll. I thought when I started smoking they'd have me up cause I'm in the choir but minister didn't say anything about it.

When asked about classes of churches informant said:

Wheat Street and Big Bethel are big shot churches. Were it not for these churches some people wouldn't go. Big shots go to be seen, no intrinsic value. Ushers in these churches have tendency to send you upstairs if you aren't known or dressed as upper bracket; you're not "crop". People in regular churches go cause they like people or want to help build kingdom. All people should go to church cause its our means of attaining the celestial. Some(ministers) Methodists are not comfortable in Baptist churches and vice versa, you know, denomination conscious. For instance, you're Baptist, I'm Methodist, we have a date but to keep from going to another denomination some excuse is given; they'll go to any other Methodist or Baptist church. Be sure to put in Class Caste Church - First Congregational - they don't like no black folks over there. The only way G. J. can play organ he's only one talented. Now folks like you and me and on down the line to black. Lady who sings tried for choir in church, you now a audition; was last one to come up cause she was darker than them white gals. When she talked to director she said she sung o.k. but they just don't have people that dark in their choir. Its not a church but an organization. I've been there several times and no one ever told me they were glad to see me. It was three times before I got a visitor's card. Now take Central, located in "Dirty Shop". All sorts of vice go on in that community. Not five people there go to church. The people in church differ from minister - pitiful few who think they run the church - who shakes hands, invites people in community to church. Most of 'em have religion and drop it at the door, them big shot churches; pick it up the next Sunday. You know, the J. P. Allen specialists, them folks dressed to kill, go just to be seen; just there, not even good enough to be a wall flower. The common laborers keep the church going.

When asked to pull out churches known informant said:

You don't have my church in here. That's good cause Rev. D. ain't nothing but crap. This is how I'd put churches, ain't no better and bad but high class and low class churches. You know, the "stinks" and the "regulars". Now these are the "stinks" and the big bunch the regulars, all of them (referring to "regulars") go together.

Order arrangement of churches known by informant:

First Congregational	St. John - CME
Big Bethel - AME	Iconium - Baptist
Wheat Street - Baptist	Rice Memorial - Presbyterian
Centenary Memorial - ME	Springfield - Baptist
St. Paul's - Episcopal	Bethlehem Church of God
Greater Mt. Calvary - Baptist	Allen Temple - AME
Friendship - Baptist	Bethlehem - Baptist
Cosmopolitan - AME	Providence - Baptist
South Atlanta - ME	Zion Hill - Baptist

INTERVIEW 5

Informant E

Informant is approximately 35 or 36 years old, female, married, no children, visiting teacher of Baptist denomination, average height and weight, neat, cooperative, conservative dresser, very talkative.

Informant lives in northeast section of city in lower middle class apartment house, very active in her church (choir director), occasionally visits other churches; been living in city over fifteen years.

Social class estimation - lower middle.

When asked about general church situation in Atlanta informant said:

Churches seem to have lost the religious touch, too much politics in them. You leave a service and feel like you been to a ball park listening to somebody trying to win on some ticket. Others got to the other extreme, talk so far ahead of the people that they laugh at them. That's how old Borders is, you ought to listen to him tomorrow. Average Negroes don't go to church but white Protestants line up in cars, fill doors every Sunday. Negroes go to show off clothes, just not church goers. Now what's the reason for this? One tenth of them work on Sunday, another one third are interested in ball game or TV and another one third give you the age old excuse - I'm just too tired.

When asked about membership of churches in general informant said:

You find a pretty good mixture of all people - professionals, laborers, etc. Professionals take less active part than butlers, labors, servants. As you might know, the middle class don't attend as the upper lower, if there is such a class. The upper lower are more emotional, sincere, sing most, shout; concerned about saving souls, have a more social reason for attending. In our particular church, and I understand in Butler Street, Wheat Street, Ebenezer; say this community, there are a number of middle class Sunday School teachers, but they don't go to church. Take F. A., Sunday School teacher at our church, never been to church in six years I been there. She told preacher church didn't mean anything to her. Middle class don't follow what they call the less fortunate, less literate people. Classes segregate themselves in church. Certain classes go to Congregational more or less Catholic and Presbyterian, feel that they get prestige. Baptist and Methodist are mixed from doctors down to ditch diggers, one of the poor classes of labor. Better type of people go to church occasionally, for particulars, Easter Sunday, First Sunday in New Year, Christmas, Mother's Day, Father's Day - something special. I tell you another thing, the average person goes to church on Communion Sunday, once a month, don't see 'em no more 'til the next communion. Better type go to church according to job they hold, that's how we classify 'em - doctors, lawyers, etc. May-be according to their home, the society they participate in - clubs.

When asked about class of churches informant said:

Congregationalists are more or less professional, I don't know but they tell me a lot of mulatto people attend that church, people concerned with pigmentation of skin. More doctors, lawyers particularly found in this church. Baptist have more teachers, skilled labors, doctors scattered around in both Methodist and Baptist, more unskilled labor in these than any other. I've learned from friends that there is not so much class and caste but people join for social prestige. A ditch digger might join the Catholic Church cause he figures he can better himself socially. Congregational people exhibit high cultural and social standards, observe law of professional ethics. Some of the people in the Congregational church for instance, to name a few, there's G.J., in music, M.S., social worker. Some of those people, the Baptist and Methodists, put religious life first, deeply religious; might be considered cultured people. I won't say refined in all instances. Refinement goes with culture though, doesn't it?

When asked about "worst" churches informant said:

Frankly, I wouldn't know. When it comes to churches and

religion, its difficult. There are good people in all of them. It depends on their sincerity and the way they carry out religion. I don't know. Course you might take up "worst" churches on two things, physical plant and program. If you mean this, then the store front and the smaller churches. I think we got too many small churches but I don't know. There's too many downstairs dwellings. Some could be better organized, have better support than we who call ourselves good churches.

When asked to arrange churches familiar to the informant, she said:

I've been to all churches I know. I don't rank Wheat Street as number one. I think Bethel is up to par. Now, Tobin, who teaches at Morehouse, has a good organized church, maybe better organized than Bethel. More of Big Bethel congregation are participating than other churches, good attendance. I don't think Friendship pastor is a dominant person, doesn't get participation of members, not dynamic; too much interest in politics, must think he's a politician. Now Johnson, at Greater Mt. Calvary is more or less a dictator. I don't like the set-up. He makes decisions, tells people what to do. This is big weakness I find in churches. I've talked to members and we compared our churches and they express their opinions this way even though they cooperate with the pastor. There's not too much variation in top five. Reason I don't rate Wheat Street first is that most people there on Sundays are visitors, active members aren't there. Borders is a dictator, too. Nothing but a "Hitler". Voice of people not heard. One day when we were riding back from school, a lady in the car, a member of the Congregational church, asked another lady why she hadn't been to her church. The lady really told her off. Told her 'you people a little too snobbish for me'. I mean she told her just what she thought.

Order of arrangement of churches known to informant:

Big Bethel - AME	St. Paul's - Episcopal
Providence - Baptist	Cosmopolitan - AME
Wheat Street - Baptist	Greater Mt. Calvary - Baptist
First Congregational	Bethlehem - Baptist
Zion Hill - Baptist	Bethlehem Church of God
Friendship - Baptist	Mt. Vernon - Baptist
Allen Temple - AME	Walker's Tabernacle - Baptist
Our Lady of Lourdes - Catholic	Rising Star - Baptist
Iconium - Baptist	

INTERVIEW 6

Informant F

Informant is approximately 40 years old, male, postal clerk, of

Episcopal denomination, fraternity man, medium height and weight, conservative but up-to-date dresser, very cooperative, very talkative.

Informant lives in southwest section of the city in lower middle class neighborhood, active in fraternal group when time permits, visits other churches, resident of city 32 years.

Social class estimate - middle class.

When asked about church situation in general informant said:

I don't think too much of them. One thing they over-emphasize finance. Atlanta churches are losing the youth. They don't fall for the stuff ministers putting down. Now all parents and people are in Baptist church. I left and went to Episcopal where they have more formal type of stuff, don't stress spiritual, emotional type of stuff. Unless churches wake up they're going to lose the youth, they got to offer more than health and salvation, hell and damnation. Some are attempting to meet the needs of the community - Wheat Street has recreational set-up, Greater Mt. Calvary has forty to fifty thousand dollar recreational building next to church but the majority of them don't meet the needs of the community. You've got to do more than attend for the spiritual needs of people.

When asked about church membership in general informant said:

You find people from highest type to lowest type, academically and socially in the church. All attend sometime or other but you find in Atlanta more people with less education in the most popular churches - Baptist and Methodist. Now, in the First Congregational you find all the business, social, economic and educational leaders of the community. There's one Baptist church where you'll find Negroes you don't find nowhere else in Atlanta. A bunch of educated people. A whole lot of school teachers. Now I attribute this to the fact that Spelman started in the basement some years ago. Here you find the higher class people, the rest of them are in common lower class. I don't think it meets the needs of the community because its located in the section of the slums. The people in the community don't attend church there. That's one objection I had to Dr. C., who was there 60 years; didn't do anything. This man has opened up recreational facilities but the kids who play there come from other areas. Most leaders, like I say, come from Congregational church.

When asked about personal knowledge of membership of Atlanta churches informant said:

In the First Congregational Church you have M., a banker, Y., his

partner, H., President of Atlanta Life, M., Vice President, Atlanta Life. They're the community leaders from a economic, social, academic point of view. These are the ones I readily know. Wheat Street has by far the largest membership in Atlanta; its not a heterogeneous bunch - ninety per cent are working class, common laboring class. There's W., a lawyer and H., who doesn't rank too high socially but ranks high in social clubs of domestic servants. In her way she's one of the outstanding business women. S. P. left Friendship went to Wheat Street. She's a leader in the high ranking social set. Friendship membership mostly teachers from Morehouse. W. and a few others if they don't go to T.'s church. All of these people are good people. Don't get me wrong, I'm not saying they aren't decent because they have the opportunity we have. Most leaders are in Congregational church by far. Congregational, Presbyterian, Episcopal, without a doubt, in this town, have the leaders and the most intelligent people. It's probably true in any town. By far the ME church is the best organized and the most opoular religion; people take to it. I attribute this to the fact that every ME minister, regardless of size of church, has a degree from Gammon. They got to go to school. Another reason is that they have white Bishops with a few Negroes thrown in. These are in the south along the Atlantic Coast. Bishop B. has a string of degrees from here to the door. You never hear a thing about the ME churches. Now you have probably read about the police pad-locking some churches until they settle things. Its some mess. There's the W. and F. fraction. Some of the AME's expelled for stealing. Bishop B has churches from New York to the Panama Canal - a type of religious sect I'd call it, a pplit. A man has trouble with congregation, thinks he can preach, so he pulls out and starts own church. That's trouble with out people. This church is well organized but members are ordinary class of people. Bishop doesn't have too much education but can handle the people cause they don't have any to amount to anything. You know, on the low strata of life. Bishop B. is a pretty wealthy man, has a complex though, doesn't have background to talk intelligently, has a fleet of cars. He has leadership ability but when you consider the type of people who follow him you can understand. There are no Alpha, Omega or Sigma fellows over there. Most of my people are oppressed and they'll sell chitterlings, corn liquor, anything to build and support the church. Its the only outlet they have. Preachers use different psychological approaches to correlate religion with problems but if they do it right, they'll have people clammering all over the seats. It gives people new courage and they feel better. That's why they go. In the First Congregational church you get decent sermons, well planned, no emotions. The same thing is found in the Presbyterian and Episcopal. People say its cold, no spirit. It isn't that, people just don't go for that, that's all. I don't know a thing about the AMEZ but Dr. C. goes there.

Now Berean, the members are ordinary people. They're trying to get a little project. They have a little school in back of church now. All of these different sects can just about be thrown in the same category. Now, Rising Star ain't nothing but an illiterate, alley crowd; catches the stuff that Friendship won't have. Say now if you don't have the right clothes to wear to Friendship you go around the corner two blocks to Rising Star. The Catholic church was well educated preachers, pretty nice people, some doctors, teachers; my niece I put on the train last week going to NYU is a member. Personally, I think the Catholic church does more charitable work than any other denomination on face of earth. Best organized church in the world, greater servant to humanity than any place in the world. If I'd change from Episcopal, which is close to it, I'd go to Catholic. T.'s all right, his congregation is run of the mill type. Wasn't it Booker T. Washington who said 'if Negroes are anything but Baptist or Methodist the white man has been tampering with his religion'. Now the Baptist minister is his own sovereign, answers only to deacon board. If he gets the right people on it, and he generally does, he can stay there for life. That's the reason I don't like none of these Negro churches, too loosely organized.

Order or arrangement of churches known to informant:

First Congregational	Appalachee - Baptist
Wheat Street Baptist	Grant's Temple - Baptist
Friendship - Baptist	Little Friend. Miss. - Baptist
Big Bethel - AME	New Salem - Baptist
Allen Temple - AME	Calvary Grove - Baptist
Providence - Baptist	Community - Baptist
St. Paul's - Episcopal	Silver Leaf - Baptist
Our Lady of Lourdes - Catholic	Pleasant Hill Miss. - Baptist
Zion Hill - Baptist	Thankful - Baptist
Greater Mt. Calvary - Baptist	Rising Star - Baptist
Cosmopolitan - AME	Walker's Tabernacle - Baptist
Mt. Vernon - Baptist	Fair Hill - Baptist
Bethlehem - Baptist	Universal Church of God
Berean - Seven Day Adventist	Bethlehem Church of God
South Atlanta - ME	Refuge Church of Christ
Centenary Memorial - ME	Mt. Zion United Holy
St. John - CME	St. Lily Fire Baptized
Rice Memorial - Presbyterian	Mt. Zion Holiness
St. Mark's Lutheran	Jones Avenue Church of God
Iconium - Baptist	Solomon's Temple
Springfield - Baptist	
Mt. Nebo - Baptist	

When asked why certain churches held certain positions in his arrange-

ment informant said:

Catholic church is low because of the salary of minister. No outstanding members. Father M. told me when he was in charge here that they allowed him \$15.00 a month. I guess the Sisters organizations took care of expenses. Methodist have the highest leadership and their salaries are subsidized. That's what I like about them. In our church sometimes we can't pay the minister his full salary so we have to double up the next month. I think we promised him \$300.00 a month. The higher class the church the lower the members contribute but one member of the Congregational church will write a check for \$500.00 to paint the church or even \$1,000 if necessary but he probably only puts 25¢ or 50¢ in collection. I guess you heard about B.'s trouble. He wants to build a \$250,000 educational building for the church. Let me show you how slick the 'Nigger' is; his wife just got her Master's in religious education. The old deacons told him hell no, they'd die and go to hell first. B. organized a Junior Deacon Board. You know you are not supposed to have but one deacon board. He's trying to railroad the building in. A lot of my friends are ministers and they all tell me that a preacher should never get his church out of debt. If you do they'll get lazy on you. You'll be getting a dime instead of a quarter. There must be an incentive to work.

INTERVIEW 7

Informant G

Informant is approximately 75 years old, female, widowed, has married daughter, seamstress, of Congregational denomination, average height and weight, very conservative dresser, very cooperative, talkative, intelligent.

Informant lives in northeast section of city in lower class neighborhood, sincere church goer, seldom visits other churches, resident of city since age of eight.

Social class estimate - middle class.

When asked about churches in general in Atlanta informant said:

Well, churches nowadays are changing like everything else. Now I'm from the old regime and I don't go for all perperatic singing and stuff. This past Sunday we had a visiting singer who was just a hollering and singing to the top of her voice. Everybody was just starry-eyed and looking; didn't bother me at all. Churches are jazzing the music today. The people like it but I don't. Now Friendship think they got the best church

in the city and probably have because in some ways its better organized than ours. The girl next door is a member and she tells me its interracial. They have two or three Chinese members. Well, we open our doors, too. We had two white students, one from Emory and one who used to teach at Spelman. They just liked the way we hold our service. There's a rumor that only the white, light folk go to our church. Its not ture but Rev. P., the first Negro preacher we had had to break down prejudice because several members stopped when he took over. We didn't have a Negro minister prior to then. All our ministers were northern whites. Now we have some of the darkest people anywhere. In most churches you find professionals down to servants. We have 'em in our church. They're there in all other churches. I've noticed that when doctors come to town they pick certain churches, churches with large memberships. The same is true with dentist. Now Mrs. H., I looked an the paper the other day and she had all the funerals in the city. You know why, don't you? Why she's a member of Mt. Zion church; she gets all that business and she's president or vice-president of almost every club around here. Politics are found in every church, a lot of it because we were discussing where our officers were yesterday. I told 'em they just want to be trustee for prestige, just to say I'm trustee at First Congregational Church. I don't know anything about the 'holy rollers' except I know they're noisy; use to be a bunch in this neighborhood. The Methodist, that's where you find politics. Bishops just move preachers around. I forget what kind of money you call it but if you don't bring it in the Bishop moves you from a big church to a little one. Bishops buy themselves in. A friend of mine was at a convention last year and she said she never saw one man who spent every bit of \$10,000 and still wasn't elected Bishop. We never have fractions in our church; not so pronounced but you who are sitting there can see it. Preachers are really paid though. Most of them make \$500.00 a month, all expenses paid, parsonage. This isn't true in our church but in other churches where masses are. Our preacher makes four hundred and something plus the fact we've given him an automobile since he's been here, well, practically, gave him \$800 on it. Then, too, we put a stove and refrigerator in the parsonage. There's been a ruling in our church, handed down in all Congregational Churches - when the church doers are opened the minister asks you to talk to the committee after service. They ask you why you left your church and why you want to join. Then they vote on you. One man fought this for 15 years, finally got his crowd together and voted it out. Now we have people in our church who still have their names on other rolls. Those of us who are of the old regime think they do it for prestige. Now young people join the church to get in clubs for prestige. A person sees you at church, asks you to join his club, status goes up. People say Atlanta not big enough for two Congregational

churches but we showed them they were wrong. The place is full of Baptist churches, one on every corner around here. I don't know how they survive, but they do.

When asked about classes of churches informant said:

Bethel is a big church. Wheat Street is the biggest as far as membership is concerned. Greater Mt. Calvary is the place where they say they jazz the music. Now the Catholics really get you. They something about giving them three months and they'll have you. We consider ours as the most outstanding and we really do, but I tell 'em we're losing prestige. If we don't look out other churches are going to take over. They say the Congregationalists don't have much religion, well, people are getting away from all that whooping and hollering. Its a different atmosphere, but some preachers feel they haven't preached unless half the people shout. I tell you the truth, I'd put them all on the same level, the ones I know. Course now I'll put my own church first.

Order of arrangement of churches known to informant:

First Congregational	Bethlehem - Baptist
Wheat Street - Baptist	Rice Memorial - Presbyterian
Friendship - Baptist	Bethlehem Church of God
Big Bethel - AME	Shaw Temple - AMEZ
St. Paul's - Episcopal	Our Lady of Lourdes - Catholic
Zion Hill - Baptist	Cosmopolitan - AME
Greater Mt. Calvary - Baptist	Providence - Baptist

INTERVIEW 8

Informant H

Informant is approximately 37 years old, female, married, teacher, Baptist denomination, heavy set, conservative dresser, very cooperative, talkative in spurts.

Informant lives in northeast section of city in an upper lower class neighborhood, nice home, ardent church worker, only woman trustee at her church, occasional visitor to other churches, resident of city over 15 years.

Social class estimation - lower middle class.

When asked about churches in Atlanta in general, informant said:

Churches used to be good, do things to help people. Nowadays churches don't do that. Its money, money, money. I believe when the ministers have their meetings they discuss among themselves how each raises money. I don't think the pastor has to think for me. I can read the Bible myself. The

members make gods out of them. The pastor is furnished everything. Now I'm a working lady. I work for all I get. The members give them everything, sugar they need themselves. When he goes on vacation he expects you to take care of all the expenses besides he's getting a salary every month. On our preacher's anniversary he gets \$1,000 in the clear. People who pay money are ones least able. Everytime he says give a dollar they do it. Churches are doing fine things in some instances but this is a fast world; children and young people need guidance. Mt. Olive is a fine church but just like the rest of them, it wants money. A 'ignorant Nigger' is the biggest money giver in my church; Ain't got no toilet, no slop jar, uses a can. You think I'm jkking. When the club met out there people had to use a can. Instead of preacher telling him he needs comfort, he asks him to stand up in church, tells people what a fine man he is.

When asked about church membership informant said:

People say Congregational is stiffest church; say no dark people go but I know that ain't so, lady up street goes and she's dark (informant talked in soft voice). Average livers go more than professionals. I think they think along with preacher, won't be swayed. Now Mr. B., and Miss F. A. are members of my church but I ain't never seen them there. Poor folks are the biggest givers and attendants. Ignorant persons don't think, they let someone think for them. Some of the best and some of the worst people in the church just like everything else. In our church we have all kinds of mess. You have the same thing in every church. I'll be in Mt. Olive until I die. One of our members comes to Sunday School every Sunday, gives in Sunday School drive but ain't nothing but a drunk. Wheat Street is the most outstanding church. B. knows everybody; planning a new recreational place. He goes in pool rooms, anywhere and people give to his church. Did you ever hear of M. J. mixing with anybody? Now Wheat Street is not my church but everybody knows it. They say Rev. J. is one of the fastest men about women, but I don't know. The educated cater to Wheat Street, Congregational Church. Nothing but ignorant folk in the store front churches.

When asked about arranging churches informant said:

They're all good but I'll see if I can do it. No, I can't do it.

Wheat Street - Baptist	Our Lady of Lourdes - Catholic
Friendship - Baptist	Community - Baptist
Big Bethel - AME	Pleasant Hill - Baptist
St. Paul's - Episcopal	Allen Temple - AME
Zion Hill - Baptist	Rising Star - Baptist
Greater Mt. Calvary - Baptist	Little Friendship Miss. - Baptist
Bethlehem - Baptist	Springfield - Baptist
Rice Memorial - Presbyterian	Iconium - Baptist
Bethlehem Church of God	Centenary Memorial - ME
First Congregational	Berean - Seven Day Adventist
Shaw Temple - AMEZ	Mt. Vernon - Baptist
South Atlanta - ME	

INTERVIEW 9

Informant I

Informant is approximately 43 years old, female, married, professional worker, of Baptist denomination, heavy set, slightly flasher dresser, very cooperative, talkative.

Informant lives in northwest section of the city in a middle class neighborhood, nice home, ardent church worker, occasional church visitor, resident of city over 20 years.

Social class estimation - middle class.

When asked about churches in Atlanta in general informant said:

I'd put them all in a barrel and shake them up and come out with the same thing. Seriously though, ninety per cent of them are sincere in their work. The majority of people are church going people, unskilled laborers. They go to satisfy a need if no more than the need for association. The educated man doesn't have time. Most of the churches are commercially conscious, because they have to be - you know, money conscious. The majority of people who support is are in the lower economic class. Church must be very money conscious to survive. The caliber of preachers is improving but the majority are less formally trained. The main interest of the church, generally speaking, is strictly religious from the point of view of social life and is unattractive, no appeal to the young generation. The Methodist and Baptist take the general run of people, the upper lower class. A different type flocks to the Episcopal, same as go to the Catholic. People believe in ritual, don't want much to say; the upper middle class. Now the Church of God attracts the same type as the Baptist and Methodists. I'm thinking of the other type, the holy rollers. Cults and holy rollers attract the same type.

When asked about various denominations informant said:

The Baptist and Methodist condemn certain things, the Episcopal, Catholic and Congregational don't. They say your religion is individual. Its hardly possible to violate anything because they don't have rigid rules set up. They don't believe in emotions. B. at Beulah Baptist is someone you should talk to. He goes to these night clubs, takes a nip, likes everything, enjoys having a good time, losing all dignity. Now J. at Second Mt. Olive, his roomers say he goes for his women and he is a bachelor. He accumulates wealth fast. A girl come in here the other day wanting a new apartment but J. won't give them - she and her sister an eviction notice. She says she hates him but there is some kind of tie somewhere. He won't let them go. They have an apartment right across the hall from him.

When asked about classes of churches informant said:

I don't think there are any good and bad churches because all of them are doing a little bit of good. Friendship is strictly a college church, so is Central. Look at the surroundings. If you'd ask the members of the community to stand up I doubt if you'd have five. They're afraid to go there. Butler Street church is like some others, in the heart of dark town. In about three streets in a square you have about six store fronts. Why can't the bigger churches handle the people. There are elite churches as far as people say they are. I don't have any myself. There's some kind in all of them. The worst kind of renegades I've seen were in the Catholic church. You should have seen their clothes, take communion looking anyway. I'm prejudice, the location has a lot to do with my decision; makes me kind of snobbish. On the basis of what the Negroes call elite, I'd say this, in the Congregational church there are a lot of people called elite but G. J. ain't no more of an elite morally than anybody else. Take the 27 Club for instance - the Y.'s and M.'s, that crowd, old heads who have accumulated money. You know only a few people get invitations to their dance. A lot of 'em are in the Episcopal, too. B. made a campaign once to get all business women in his church. (laughs) I said 'Nigger you ought to be shot'. Just from reading the paper I'd say Friendship is also elite with a few T.M.A.'s. Providence use to be but now its just like the others. Wheat Street is the best church on the basis of size and membership. Greater Mt. Calvary is the poor man's church. Now you'd be surprised at the number of so-called elite at Bethlehem Church of God.

Order of arrangement of churches known to informant:

First Congregational
St. Paul's - Episcopal
Friendship - Baptist

Wheat Street - Baptist	Mt. Vernon - Baptist
Our Lady of Lourdes - Catholic	Cosmopolitan - AME
Big Bethel - AME	Centenary Memorial - ME
Providence - Baptist	Shaw Temple - AMEZ
Zion Hill - Baptist	Springfield - Baptist
Greater Mt. Calvary - Baptist	Thankful - Baptist
Bethlehem Church of God	Rising Star - Baptist
Bethlehem - Baptist	Community - Baptist

INTERVIEW 10

Informant J

Informant is approximately 60 years old, male, married, minister and writer, of AME denomination, average build, fair dresser, tendency toward loud combinations, very cooperative, very talkative, very intelligent.

Informant lives in northeast section of the city in a middle class neighborhood, fairly nice home, very religious, straight to the point talker, visits other churches occasionally, resident of city over 50 years.

Social class estimation - lower middle class.

When asked about churches in Atlanta in general informant said:

Atlanta is over-churches because of the ambition of people unprepared to set up leadership. For the most they go in remote areas among the ignorant, uninformed, set up type of church not conducive to racial advancement. This condition is responsible for poverty both in faith and economics now existing in the Negro church. This necessitates periodic drives and rallies that are repugnant to decent thinking. In the slum areas of Atlanta will be seen the store front church with old ladies dressed in white robes and long streamers, praying on the superstition of unsuspected young as well as the mental sickness of old age. The church in Atlanta suffers most from incompetent and designing leadership. It has left the moarings of the gospel and the tenets of salvation. A survey of these churches with an inventory of the measurement of its leadership would involve a pitiful story of putrid exploration. There are many respectable churches in Atlanta. Strange as it may seem practically all of these churches operate upon a system that forces them to side-track the principles for which the church stands and to concentrate so much upon financial emphasis that the mission of the church and the prestige of the gospel are almost destroyed. That's about all I know. I speak fearlessly and factually about all of them. I have twenty-two churches under my supervision and I make more money from the government than I do from any of them. I'm a retired government worker at the highest pension so you see I can afford to be frank.

When asked about church membership informant said:

It is interesting to breakdown into fine points the people who are supporting the churches. Churches draw support from what we call mediocre groups - hard working, honest people who still have the abiding faith in the church and the type of leadership they are to support. Younger people are growing out of the church. Those who are in are tied to church by elders, I mean parents. Schools do not emphasize church attendance because in many areas the more informed younger people are more prone to stay out of church. One reason making for this is the lack of preparation of the minister. His failure to keep current so as to give sermons 'fresh life blood'; his failure to live up to the principles of his own gospel and his laxity in charitable work betray him as a 'self serving servant'. It will be noted in Atlanta that many churches are out of repair - broken windows, lack of sanitation, unkept grounds and a failure to keep the interior clean. This accounts for much of the loss of respect the church has sustained. This condition also interferes with the church's out reach for funds. What churches in Atlanta need most is honest leadership. We feel that this will enhance more the attendance and support of the church than any other factor. It would be found in certain churches of Atlanta that where leadership is intelligent and proliferic there may be found the schoolmen, professional men and upgrade students. No intelligent person who is in research would go the church in the alley where that old man beats drums. He would go to the Episcopal, Friendship, Ebenezer or Allen Temple church. Intelligence is above average at the AME but you won't find intelligence at Allen Temple, you find it at the Episcopal church. With the Baptist it's a toss up between Ebenezer and Friendship and Wheat Street with Liberty following close behind, from the intelligent point of view. I find more honesty among the non-church goer, not in number but in quality. I know some preacher I wouldn't lend a dime.

When asked to arrange churches informant said:

Going by intelligence I'd say St. Paul, Friendship, Wheat Street, Big Bethel, Allen Temple, First Congregational. Providence would be in if you just include the minister. B. is a top man in the city with national appeal but Usher has the best, most intelligent group in the top bunch - masters and bachelors.

Order of arrangement of churches known by informant:

St. Paul's - Episcopal
First Congregational
Wheat Street - Baptist
Big Bethel - AME
Friendship - Baptist

Allen Temple - AME
Providence - Baptist
Zion Hill - Baptist
Cosmopolitan - AME
Bethlehem Church of God

When asked why he put various churches in various positions, especially his own denomination, informant said:

You want the facts, don't you? Well, that's what I've been giving you.

INTERVIEW 11

Informant K

Informant is approximately 45 years old, male, married, porter at department store, of AME denomination, slender build, conservative but fashionable dresser, very cooperative, very talkative.

Informant lives in southeast section of the city in a low class neighborhood, fair home, attends church regularly, visits other churches occasionally, lifetime resident of city.

Social class estimation - upper lower.

When asked about churches in Atlanta in general informant said:

Too many churches in the city of Atlanta; not too many but too many self-appointed. Whereas I'd say the Baptist as a whole in the city, if you'd count them you'd find a lot of 'em under separate government. There are several forms of sanctified, holiness churches in Atlanta, can't say much about them, how they've formed but they just pull out. True sanctified set up like Methodist with Bishops governing them. Methodist have three forms; CME, AME and ME. The AME what you might call cater to the higher type Negro. The Methodist (ME) gets part of them. The CME is just existing, can't get started cause other two drain membership. Catholics very strong on a higher scale than AME in form and type of religion, they just outstanding; new to the Negro and he hasn't had enough to appreciate it. This church has more to offer Negro in the city of Atlanta than any group of churches we have. If a Negro is Baptist, Methodist, what-not and he becomes ill and has to go to hospital, if he stays there any time preacher and members go to start with but they stop. Catholics take care of you under all circumstances. Ebenezer have its services mostly at night. M. L. K.'s church operates different from any other Baptist church. He's formed and set up service and office which takes care of members under any circumstances. Wheat Street has good attendance in the morning; every type of person, all creeds and colors. I hear they got white, colored, Chinese; now deaf and dumb. They got the greatest non-talking congregational in the state of Georgia. Trained them to interpret the service. Now Bishop B.'s church is hard to figure out, got big membership, nationally known. Membership is greater than any other except rural Baptist.

People consider themselves as one; closer together when it comes to brotherly love than others, to my estimation. The First Congregational is supposed to be the 'cream of the crop'. All the leading professional men in Atlanta go there. Their form and type of religious service is different; quiet, not emotional, but still has most of the professional men and women. When you say you a member of the First Congregational, as B. put it, you're somebody. You call off all the leading men and ask them where they go to church, goes back to Congregational - Milton, Dohbs, Yates. Did you ever talk to J. at Friendship? A regular guy, lay it right down to you. Members mostly college professors - Dr. M., all Morehouse, Spelman girls; the college type, professional man. Most postal clerks are members. People in large churches - Warren, Friendship, Wheat Street, Congregational, all in same category; look on religion in different way. The type of song that moves a person in smaller church won't move these people. They want Ave Maria. The 'die-in-the-wool' people appreciate that stuff but young people want form and fashion.

When asked to arrange churches in some order the informant said:

I'd put a church you don't have here above all others regardless - Mt. Carmen - on the basis of warmth, religious service and everything. Old W. is a powerful man around there.

Wheat Street	Centenary Memorial
First Congregational	Rice Memorial
Friendship	St. Mark's Evangelical
Providence	St. John
Berean	Fair Hill
St. Paul's	Walker's Tabernacle
Greater Mt. Calvary	Pheadant Hill
Bethlehem	New Salem
Zion Hill	Iconium
Mt. Vernon	Little Friendship
Allen Temple	Thankful
Big Bethel	Rising Star
South Atlanta	Community
Cosmopolitan	Mt. Nebo

Jones Avenue

INTERVIEW 12

Informant L

Informant is approximately 25 years old, male, single, unemployed, of Methodist denomination, stocky build, casual dresser, very cooperative, talkative in spurts.

Informant lives in northeast section of city in lower middle class

neighborhood, frequent church goer, visits various denominations occasionally, lifetime resident of city.

Social class estimation - lower middle.

When asked about the general church situation in Atlanta informant said:

I think the churches need a more civic minded program. Only one has one like that - Wheat Street. They supposed to be building an old folks home. There's too much prejudice in the church and most of the leaders in church are ignorant people. Our educated need to take a more fuller stand in the church. Too much dishonesty, too much stealing. Churches should offer more than one scholarship a year to some needy member. There's too many announcements in churches. Church bulletins should take care of that. You ever been to Wheat Street? They have all these bulletins and still the preacher takes fifteen or twenty minutes reading announcements. We need more cooperation between ministers and members. Too many old members hold down positions young members should have. Oh, yeah, there's not enough large churches to hold conventions. What you call those things the Alphas have? Well, there's only one church big enough to hold them - Wheat Street.

When asked about church membership in general informant said:

Baptist seem to have the largest membership; incorporate more on financial matters than Methodist. However, the Baptist membership split and form new churches because of many disfranchisements. Should let the preacher be the leader and conduct services and not try to boss him on how to run service. Miss H., you know Miss H., goes to my church. One day she got up. took over the singing, even tried to tell the preacher what to say. There's too much tongue wagging and slander among church members against each other. You find the most ignorant Negroes are in Baptist churches. Course there are some in Methodist. The reason there more in Baptist because there are more Baptist. Another thing, the big leaders set back and take the side line while the middle class run the church.

When asked about various denominations informant said:

Something in Baptist services I don't like. When you want to join church they make a motion to church to see if you're acceptable. I'm saying they shouldn't ask members if they should be accepted. Nothing in Bible says anything about it. God accepts all. We have too much prejudice among Baptist and Methodist church because they worship the same God. Now Jehova's Witnesses have a small membership in Atlanta. The Episcopal, there's only one Episcopal church. Increase is in store front church. I

I tell you something they say used to be, before my time. Tell me Congregationals used to investigate anybody who wanted to join. You had to be a 'big Nigger' before you could join. Not like that anymore but they're supposed to be aristocratic. I don't what that is, society, I guess. I don't know anything about the Seven Day Adventist except they hold church on Saturday. You ever been around on Fairfax Place? I don't know what kind of church it is but they beat 'tangerines', drums, hold revivals every two months, last 'til eleven and twelve o'clock at night. They have loud speaker.

Order of arrangement of churches known to informant:

Wheat Street	St. Paul's
Allen Temple	First Congregational
Big Bethel	Friendship
Cosmopolitan	Jones Avenue
Zion Hill	Springfield
Bethlehem	Shaw Temple
Little Friendship	

When asked why certain churches hold certain positions in his arrangement informant said:

Now, I'm a Methodist and I put a Baptist church first. Wheat Street has the largest membership on the first and fourth Sundays; more organization, the largest collection, strives to better the community, takes part in all civic projects, donates to all worthy causes and has mixed membership. It makes concessions for deaf and dumb, its the only church has members of the opposite race, only church making provision for old members unable to take care of themselves. Big Bethel use to be outstanding but they had some kind of mess and split when Rev. P. came there. I don't know what it was. The Congregational is a smaller church, not too many young members, mostly all professional people, highly recognized people in Atlanta society are members. There aren't too many educated people in Friendship to carry out programs of all sorts except financial. A small church, needs a lot of repairs, better equipment. Most members are poor, hard working people, cannot afford to contribute much to better these conditions. Shaw Temple is a new church. For a long time the building Shaw is in now was vacant. I don't know too much about Catholic church. I know most all sermons are in Latin.

ORDER-OF-MERIT RATING DATA

Informant is approximately 20 years old, student, of Baptist denomination, lifetime resident of city.

Social class estimation - lower middle. Lives in northwest section of the city.

Order of arrangement:

Providence	Friendship
Wheat Street	Greater Mt. Calvary
St. Paul's	First Congregational
Zion Hill	Cosmopolitan
Bethlehem	

Informant is approximately 21 years old, neatly dressed, female, of Presbyterian denomination, receptionist, lifetime resident of city, intelligent, lives in northwest section of city.

Social class estimation - lower middle.

Order of arrangement:

Wheat Street	St. Paul's
Friendship	Rice Memorial
Big Bethel	Providence
First Congregational	Zion Hill
Bethlehem Church of God	

Informant is approximately 22 years old, female, junior high training, neatly dressed, cooperative, of Baptist denomination.

Social class estimation - upper lower.

Order of arrangement:

Cosmopolitan	First Congregational
Zion Hill	St. Paul's
Mt. Vernon	Calvary Grove
Rising Star	St. Mark's Evangelical
Big Bethel	Springfield
Wheat Street	Bethlehem Church of God
Allen Temple	Providence
Greater Mt. Calvary	Bethlehem
Fair Hill	

Informant is approximately 40 years old, female, maid, of Baptist denomination, resident of city 17 years.

Order of arrangement of churches known to informant:

Wheat Street	Jones Avenue
Greater Mt. Calvary	Zion Hill
Big Bethel	New Salem
Friendship	

Informant is approximately 21 years old, female, teacher, conservative and neat dresser, very cooperative, lives in southwest section of city, lifetime resident of city.

Social class estimation - middle class.

Order of arrangement of churches known to informant:

St. Paul's	Zion Hill
Friendship	Bethlehem
Our Lady of Lourdes	Greater Mt. Calvary
First Congregational	Providence
Wheat Street	Shaw Temple
Big Bethel	Walker's Tabernacle
Allen Temple	Bethlehem Church of God
Mt. Vernon	Cosmopolitan
Berean	

Informant is approximately 40 years old, male, teacher, conservative dresser, cooperative, of Baptist denomination, lifetime resident of city.

Social class estimate - lower middle.

Order of arrangement of churches known to informant:

Our Lady of Lourdes	Allen Temple
Wheat Street	Cosmopolitan
Big Bethel	Providence
South Atlanta	Zion Hill
Greater Mt. Calvary	Congregational
Friendship	Shaw Temple
Bethlehem Church of God	

Informant is approximately 23 years old, female, teacher, neat, well dressed casually, of Baptist denomination resident of city over 5 years, fairly cooperative.

Social class estimation - lower middle.

Order of arrangement of churches known to informant:

First Congregational	Providence
Wheat Street	Friendship
Big Bethel	Zion Hill
Allen Temple	Bethlehem

Informant is approximately 28 years old, male, barber, of Baptist denomination, neat, casual dresser, lifetime resident of city, cooperative.

Order of arrangement of churches known to informant:

Mt. Vernon	Friendship
Greater Mt. Calvary	Bethlehem Church of God
Big Bethel	Cosmopolitan
Wheat Street	St. Paul's
Allen Temple	Rising Star
Providence	Fair Hill

Informant is approximately 55 years old, male, janitor, of Baptist denomination, cooperative, plain dresser, lifetime resident of city.

Social class estimation - lower class.

Order of arrangement of churches known to informant:

Friendship	Cosmopolitan
Wheat Street	Zion Hill
First Congregational	St. Paul's
Mt. Vernon	Our Lady of Lourdes
Big Bethel	Bethlehem Church of God
Providence	Bethlehem
Allen Temple	Rising Star
South Atlanta	

Informant is approximately 24 years old, male, presser in cleaning shop, of Methodist denomination, cooperative, neat and casual dresser, resident of city 6 years.

Social class estimation - lower middle class.

Order of arrangement of churches known to informant:

Wheat Street	St. Paul's
Big Bethel	Our Lady of Lourdes
South Atlanta	Berean
Centenary Memorial	Community
Friendship	Appalachee
Allen Temple	Springfield
Mt. Vernon	Grant's Temple
Zion Hill	Mt. Nebo
Greater Mt. Calvary	Fair Hill
Bethlehem	Thankful
Providence	St. John
First Congregational	Iconium
Jones Avenue	

Informant is approximately 60 years old, male, of Methodist denomination, dean of college, very conservative dresser, cooperative, resident of the city over 25 years.

Social class estimation - upper middle.

Order of arrangement of churches known to informant:

Allen Temple	South Atlanta
Providence	Zion Hill
Wheat Street	Friendship
Bethlehem Church of God	First Congregational
Big Bethel	St. Paul's
Centenary Memorial	

Informant is approximately 21 years old, female, of Baptist denomination, clerk in cleaning shop, plain and conservative dresser, lifetime resident of city, cooperative.

Social class estimation - lower middle.

Order of arrangement of churches as known to informant:

Bethlehem	Greater Mt. Calvary
Wheat Street	Providence
Big Bethel	Zion Hill
Allen Temple	Shaw Temple
Friendship	Rising Star
South Atlanta	

Informant is approximately 26 years old, male, of Baptist denomination, student, fashionable but conservative dresser, resident of city 10 years, cooperative.

Social class estimation - lower middle.

Order of arrangement of churches known to informant:

First Congregational	Fair Hill
Wheat Street	Bethlehem Church of God
St. Paul's	Centenary Memorial
Big Bethel	Grant's Temple
Friendship	Iconium
Greater Mt. Calvary	Thankful
Zion Hill	Walker's Tabernacle
Mt. Vernon	Our Lady of Lourdes
Shaw Temple	St. Mark's Evangelical
South Atlanta	Cosmopolitan
Providence	St. John
Allen Temple	Universal Church of God
Bethlehem	Jones Avenue Church of God

Berean

Informant is approximately 45 years old, male, of Baptist denomination, musician, very neat dresser, very conservative, lifetime resident of city.

Social class estimation - lower middle.

Order of arrangement of churches known to informant:

Friendship	Zion Hill
Wheat Street	South Atlanta
Big Bethel	Pleasant Hill Missionary

Informant is approximately 55 years old, female, of Baptist denomination (switched from Congregational), personnel worker, flashy dresser, cooperative, talkative, resident of city 20 years.

Social class estimation - middle class.

Order of arrangement of churches known to informant:

Wheat Street	Providence
First Congregational	Allen Temple
St. Paul's	Big Bethel
Friendship	Greater Mt. Calvary
Our Lady of Lourdes	Zion Hill
Berean	Bethlehem Church of God

Bethlehem
Rice Memorial
South Atlanta
Mt. Vernon

Cosmopolitan
Centenary Memorial
Thankful
Iconium

Shaw Temple

Informant is approximately 35 years of age, female, nurse, of Methodist denomination, well dressed and very neat, very cooperative, lifetime resident of city.

Social class estimation - lower middle class.

Order of arrangement of churches known to informant:

Allen Temple
First Congregational
St. Paul's
Big Bethel
Friendship
Wheat Street
Cosmopolitan
Zion Hill
Rice Memorial
Bethlehem
South Atlanta

Our Lady of Lourdes
Shaw Temple
St. Mark's Evangelical
Mt. Vernon
St. John
Providence
Greater Mt. Calvary
New Salem
Bethlehem Church of God
Thankful
Berean

St. Lily Fire Baptized

Informant is approximately 32 years old, male, painter, of Baptist denomination, casual dresser, cooperative, resident of city 25 years.

Social class estimation - upper lower.

Order of arrangement of churches known to informant:

Greater Mt. Calvary
Wheat Street
Bethlehem
Friendship
Mt. Vernon
Thankful

Zion Hill
Allen Temple
St. John
Iconium

Informant is approximately 45 years old, female, housewife, of Methodist denomination, not very cooperative, plain dresser, resident of city 35 years.

Social class estimation - upper lower.

Order of arrangement of churches known to informant:

Our Lady of Lourdes	Zion Hill
Wheat Street	Cosmopolitan
Big Bethel	Providence
Allen Temple	South Atlanta
First Congregational	Shaw Temple
Bethlehem Church of God	St. Lily Fire Baptized
Friendship	Rising Star
Greater Mt. Calvary	St. John
St. Paul's	Iconium
Bethlehem	Mt. Vernon

Informant is 35 years old approximately, male, barber, of Baptist denomination, casual but stylish dresser, cooperative, resident of city 15 years.

Social class estimation - lower class

Order of arrangement of churches known to informant:

Providence	Mt. Vernon
Bethlehem	Centenary Memorial
Big Bethel	Bethlehem Church of God
Allen Temple	Berean
Cosmopolitan	New Salem
Walker's Tabernacle	

Informant is approximately 24 years old, male, student, of Congregational denomination, conservative dresser, cooperative, resident of city 5 years.

Social class estimation - lower middle.

Order of arrangement of churches known to informant:

Greater Mt. Calvary	Mt. Vernon
Friendship	Berean
Wheat Street	Shaw Temple
Big Bethel	Fair Hill
First Congregational	Walker's Tabernacle
St. Paul's	Community
Allen Temple	Grant's Temple
Providence	St. Lily Fire Baptized
Our Lady of Lourdes	Universal Church of God

APPENDIX D : THE SCHEDULE

Interviewer _____
 Interview Date(s) _____
 Place _____

Schedule for Institutions:
 Urban Churches

General Information:

Name of Church _____
 Location (Address) _____
 Number of Members _____ Seating Capacity of Auditorium _____
 Years on Present Site _____ Moved from what location _____
 Minister's Study _____ Recreation Room _____ Choir _____ Banquet Room _____
 Number of special rooms other than auditorium _____
 Minister's Name _____ Length of service _____

Scale

A. Church Building Value:

1. Below \$5,000 _____
2. \$5,000-\$10,000 _____
3. \$10,000-\$20,000 _____
4. \$20,000-\$30,000 _____
5. \$30,000-\$40,000 _____
6. \$40,000-\$50,000 _____
7. Over \$50,000 _____

B. Education of Minister:

1. No special training - Elem. School _____
2. High school; no special training _____
3. High school grad., special training _____
4. Some college training _____
5. Some seminary training _____
6. College graduate _____
7. College and seminary graduate _____
8. Additional training _____

C. Minister's Salary or Income:

1. Below \$1,000 _____
2. \$1,000-\$2,000 _____
3. \$2,000-\$3,000 _____
4. \$3,000-\$4,000 _____
5. \$4,000-\$5,000 _____
6. Over \$5,000 _____

D. Number of Churches Pastored by Minister:

1. Over three _____
2. Three _____
3. Two _____
4. One _____

E. Service rendered to church(es):

1. Full time Half time Fourth time

F. Additional Information on Minister:

1. Member of Ministerial Alliance 2. Holder of an Office 3. Assistant Minister Paid

G. Music Characteristics:

1. Choir 3. Choir Robes 2. Choir Director 4. Choir Hymnals

H. Accessary Activities:

1. Sunday School a. Official Literature b. Graded Classes 2. Youth Organizations 3. Forums, Debates, etc. 4. Nursery School 5. Organized Recreational
Program 6. Children's Sermon 7. Other (Specify)

I. Collection Practices:

1. Number of collections per service

a. Over three b. Three c. Two d. One 2. Manner in which collections are taken, Formal

J. Ritual and Practices:

1. No testimonies 2. Formal prayer 3. Formal singing 4. No shouting 5. No tithing

K. Types of Sermons: (List titles of last five sermons)

Check This Worldly Other Worldly 1. 2. 3. 4. 5.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Books

- Atlanta Metropolitan Planning Commission. Up Ahead: A Regional Land Use Plan for Metropolitan Atlanta. Atlanta: 1952.
- Chapin, F. S. Contemporary American Institutions. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1935.
- Davie, Maurice. Negroes in American Society. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1949.
- Davis, Allison, Gardner, Burleigh and Gardner, Mary B. Deep South. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1941.
- Dollard, John. Caste and Class in a Southern Town. Harvard University Press, 1937.
- Douglass, H. P. One Thousand City Churches. New York: George H. Doran Co., 1926.
- _____. The Church in a Changing City. New York: George H. Doran Co., 1937.
- _____. How to Study the City Church. New York: Doubleday, Doran, 1928.
- Drake, St. Clair and Cayton, Horace R. Black Metropolis. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Co., 1945.
- Drake, St. Clair. Churches and Voluntary Associations in the Chicago Negro Community. Chicago: Work Projects Administration, 1940.
- Fauset, Arthur H. Black Gods of the Metropolis. University of Pennsylvania Press.
- Frazier, E. Franklin. The Negro in the United States. Chicago: 1949.
- Hatt, Paul K. and Reiss, Albert J. Reader in Urban Sociology. Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1951.
- Jehoda, Marie, Deutsch, Morton and Cook, Stuart W. Research Methods in Social Relations. New York: Dryden Press, 1951.
- Johnson, James W. The Black Manhattan. New York: A. A. Knoff, 1930.
- Jones, Alfred W. Life, Liberty and Property. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Co., 1941.

- Kincheloe, Samuel C. The American City and its Church. New York: The Friendship Press, 1938.
- Linton, Ralph. The Study of Man. New York: D. Appleton Century Co., Inc., 1936.
- Lundberg, George and Associates. Leisure: A Suburban Study. New York: Columbia University Press, 1934.
- _____. A Social Research. (rev. ed.) New York: Longmans, Green, 1941.
- Mays, B. E., and Nicholson, J. W. The Negro's Church. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1944.
- Myrdal, Gunnar. An American Dilemma. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1944.
- Parten, Mildred B. Surveys, Samples and Polls. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1950.
- Powdermaker, Hortense. After Freedom. New York: Viking Press, 1939.
- Pope, Liston. Millhands and Preachers. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1942.
- Quinn, James A. Human Ecology. New York: Prentice Hall, Inc., 1950.
- Reid, Ira. The Negro Community of Baltimore. Baltimore: Urban League, 1934.
- Warner, W. Lloyd and Associates. Social Class in America. New York: Stratford Press, 1949.
- _____. Democracy in Jonesville. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1944.
- _____. Social Life of a Modern Community. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1941.
- _____. Who Shall be Educated? New York: Harper and Brothers, 1944.
- West, James. Plainville U.S.A. New York: Columbia University Press, 1948.
- Whyte, William F. Street Corner Society. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1943.
- Wilson, Logan and Kolb, William L. Sociological Analysis. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1949.

Yinger, J. M. Religion in the Struggle for Power. Durham: Duke University Press, (1946).

Articles

- Brown, James S. "Social Class, Intermarriage and Church Membership in a Kentucky Community!" American Journal of Sociology. (November, 1951).
- Cayton, H. R., and McNeil, E. O. "Research on the Urban Negro." American Journal of Sociology. (September, 1941).
- Daniel, V. E. "Ritual and Stratification in Chicago Negro Churches." American Sociological Review. (June, 1942).
- Davis, Kingsley. "A Conceptual Analysis of Stratification." American Sociological Review. (April, 1945).
- _____ and Moore, Wilbert E. "Some Principles of Stratification." American Sociological Review. (April, 1945).
- Douglass, H. Paul. "Some Protestant Churches in Urban America." Information Service. (January 21, 1950).
- Goldschmidt, Walter R. "Class Denominationalism in Rural California Churches." American Journal of Sociology. (January, 1944).
- Gordon, Milton M. "Social Class in American Sociology." American Journal of Sociology. (November, 1949).
- Gross, Llewellyn. "The Use of Class Concepts in Sociological Research." American Journal of Sociology. (March, 1949).
- Guttman, Louis. "A Review of Chapin's Social Status Scale." American Sociological Review. (June, 1943).
- Hatt, Paul K. "Occupational and Social Stratification." American Journal of Sociology. (May, 1950).
- Hill, Mozell and McCall, B. C. "Social Stratification in a Georgia Town." American Sociological Review. Vol. VII, (1942)
- Jones, E. S. "High Church Isolation." Christian Century. (July 21, 1943).
- Lundberg, George A. "Some Problems of Group Classification and Measurement." American Sociological Review. Vol. V, (1940).
- _____. "The Measurement of Socioeconomic Status." American Sociological Review. Vol. V., (1940).

- Merton, R. K. and Kendall, P. L. "The Focused Interview." American Journal of Sociology. Vol. XI, (1946).
- Mills, C. W. "The Middle Class in Middle-Sized Cities". American Sociological Review. Vol. II, (1937).
- Moore, W. E. and Williams, R. M. "Stratification in the Anti-bellum South." American Sociological Review. Vol. VII, (1942).
- Pope, Liston. "Religion and the Class Structure." Annals. (March, 1948).
- Rosenfield, Eva. "Social Stratification in a Classless Society." American Sociological Review. Vol. XVI, (December, 1951).
- Sjoberg, Gideon. "Are Social Classes in America Becoming More Rigid?" American Sociological Review. Vol. XVI, (December, 1951).
- Speier, Hans. "Social Stratification in the Urban Community." American Sociological Review. Vol. I, (1936).
- Strong, S. M. "Social Types in a Minority Group." American Journal of Sociology, (March, 1943).
- Turner, R. H. "Moral Judgment : A Study in Roles." American Sociological Review. Vol. XVII, (February, 1952).
- Wilson, C. L. "A Social Picture of a Congregation." American Sociological Review. Vol. X, (1945).